

**FBIS**

# DAILY REPORT

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SOYUZ-81 ENDS; FORCES RETURNING TO GARRISONS

LD071648 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1606 GMT 7 Apr 81

["Soyuz-81 Command Staff Exercise Ended"--ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin, 7 Apr (ADN)--The joint command and staff exercise of the allied armies and fleets under the designation Soyuz-81 took place on the Polish, GDR, USSR and CSSR territories from 17 March to 7 April.

The exercise was directed by Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, commander in chief of the Warsaw Treaty joint forces.

In the course of the exercise special attention was devoted to the preparation and holding of joint operations of the allied armies and fleets and securing them all round [sowie ihrer allseitigen sicherstellung].

The operations of the participating token forces were watched by the commander in chief of the joint forces, together with Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers and national defense minister of the Polish People's Republic; Army Gen Heinz Hoffmann, GDR national defense minister; Army Gen Martin Dzur, CSSR national defense minister; Army Gen Anatoliy Gribkov, chief of staff of the joint forces; and other military officers of the fraternal armies.

The exercise proceeded in an organized fashion, was instructive and reflected the enhanced level of the operational training of the generals, admirals and officers.

It contributed to the further strengthening of the cohesion of the higher staffs of the fraternal armies, the improvement of their cooperation, the deepening of the brotherhood in arms of army personnel and their education in the spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The exercise objectives were achieved.

The staffs and token forces which took part in the exercise are returning to their permanent bases.

DODE REPORTS TO ASSEMBLY ON STATE PLAN, BUDGET

AU051701 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 27 Mar 81 pp 1-3

[Report delivered on 26 March 1981 at the Sixth Session of the Ninth Legislature of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania by Petro Dode, chairman of the State Planning Commission of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania: "On the Fulfillment of the 1980 State Plan and Budget and on the 1981 Draft State Plan and Budget"]

[Text] Comrade Deputies: An atmosphere of mobilization, enthusiasm and revolutionary fervor at work prevails throughout our homeland, in the cities and in the countryside. It is due to the great and joyful tidings that the ninth AWP Central Committee plenum will convene the Eighth AWP Congress in Tirana on 1 November, and to the increased efforts of the working masses, under the party's leadership, to go to the congress and to the jubilee of the 40th anniversary of the AWP's founding with a rich balance sheet of victories in all fields of socialist construction and of the strengthening of the country's defense potential.

In such a magnificent revolutionary situation, when our socialist homeland is making firm strides on the path of its economic and social progress, toward which it is guided wisely and resolutely by the AWP and its Central Committee led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, we are gathered here, in this session of the People's Assembly, to provide juridical sanction to the tasks of the 1981 state plan for the development of the economy and culture and the 1981 budget.

This plan, which is an integral part of the Seventh 5-Year Plan (1981-85), opens up a new stage in the great, heroic and glorious struggle waged by our party and people in steel-like and invincible unity to completely build the socialist society, relying entirely on our own efforts, and to confront and defeat--as always--with complete success, the difficulties and obstacles arising from the exacerbation of the class struggle in the international arena and from the vicious imperialist and revisionist blockade and encirclement of our country.

The achievements of these last years in all fields of the country's life constitute an incontestable testimony of the constant quantitative increase and profound qualitative transformations which are taking place continually and are surely leading Albania toward completely building the socialist society.

The economic and social progress of our country, which does not know the negative phenomena of the capitalist and revisionist society, is based on the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, which have led our people from one victory to the next, as well as on the efforts of our working people, who are struggling tirelessly to consistently implement the directions and orientations of the Seventh AWP Congress and of the AWP Central Committee plenums held in recent years. This economic and social progress is also based on the material and technical foundations built in our country, whose constant strengthening has assured ever larger material, financial and foreign currency assets to achieve a high rate of enlarged reproduction.

As a result of its achievements in the development of the economy and culture, as a result of the correct and principled Marxist-Leninist policy in its relations with other peoples and states and as a result of its constant struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, Albania has become an invincible fortress of socialism and an illuminating lighthouse for all the peoples, large and small, who are struggling for national and social liberation and who aspire to socialism.

I. On the Fulfillment of the 1980 State Plan and Budget

During the past year, which was also the last year of the Sixth 5-Year Period (1976-80), our country made new strides on the path of building and defending socialism.  
[paragraph continues]

Overall industrial production increased 7.1 percent compared with 1979, which represents a higher growth rate than the annual average for the 1976-79 period--which was 5.8 percent. The volume of investments carried out for developing the economy was 8.4 percent higher than in 1979, compared with an average increase of investments of 1 percent during the 4 years spanning the 1976-1979 period. The transportation of commodities, exports, imports, communal services for the people and so forth, were also developed at a rapid pace.

The planned tasks were fulfilled and overfulfilled for a number of important industrial products and the growth rates for those products was higher than the average growth rate of industrial production. This is true in the production of fuels and the extraction of gas, coal and chrome, in the production of carbonic ferrochrome, copper blister, the extraction of ferronickel ore, the production of electricity, machinery, equipment, spare parts, some construction materials, knitwear, furniture and household equipment, and so forth.

As a result of the special care shown and the measures adopted to strengthen the base of industrial raw materials, good results were attained in discovering new oil fields and the tasks set out in increase industrial reserves in coal, chrome, ferronickel ore, copper ore and so forth, were fulfilled and overfulfilled, thus opening up new prospects for developing the mineral industry and to further raise the degree of guaranteeing the fulfillment of future tasks.

The achievements in the industrial field are a result of the efforts of our heroic working class, engineers and specialists to further production and the technical and scientific revolution in accordance with the tasks stipulated by the seventh and eighth AWP Central Committee plenums, also solving a number of technical and technological problems pertaining to those projects sabotaged by the Chinese revisionists.

Although not a favorable year for agriculture, owing to atmospheric conditions, the total agricultural produce last year was 2.4 percent higher than the average attained for the 4-year period 1976-79. More wheat, meat, eggs, fruit and other products were produced last year, compared to 1979.

In the field of investments and capital construction, some important projects were completed and commissioned. The commissioning of the third turbine of the "Light of the Party" hydroelectric powerplant, the construction of the first stage of the factory for refractory materials, the construction of the Ballsh-Fier-Elbasan gas pipeline, the copper purification plant in Korce District, the amelioration of the Karavasta E Vogel area in Lushnje, the completion of the irrigation network in the Koplik area of Shkoder, the construction of the Lac Lezhe railroad and of a number of socio-cultural projects and so forth, are some of the achievements which have further consolidated the various sectors of the economy and culture, providing them with the essential capabilities to achieve the fulfillment of the stipulated tasks. The construction of a number of other new and important projects, which are expected to be commissioned in the first years of the Seventh 5-Year Period, also progressed rapidly.

Achievements have also been attained in other branches of the economy. The volume of transportation of commodities increased 4.4 percent compared with 1979, while railroad transportation increased 9.9 percent. The utilization of trailers was extended as one of the most effective ways of increasing the volume of road transportation of commodities. The socialist trade sector supplied the population with foodstuffs and other commodities, increasing their per capita consumption. Retail trade increased about twice as fast as the increase of the population, compared with 1979, and improvements were made in communal services, increasing the volume of work in these sectors 2.7 times more rapidly than the growth rate of the population.

Further progress was made in the field of education and culture. The number of students and pupils who completed the higher and secondary schools, both full time and in conjunction with work, was 11.9 percent higher than in 1979. [paragraph continues]

Further steps were also made in strengthening the measures to protect the health of the people in the cities, and particularly in the countryside.

In accordance with the tasks set out by the seventh AWP Central Committee plenum and Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings, last year the Council of Ministers adopted important measures to further raise the effectiveness of the economy, concentrating the attention of the state and economic organs on strengthening the regime of thrift in the field of expenditure, particularly in the direction of the most rational use of manpower and on reducing costs in various branches of material production and the service sectors.

As a result, the financial incomes of the state budget increased 3.5 percent compared with 1979. The enterprises of the Ministry of Industry and Mining and of the Ministry of Light Industry and Food alone secured an additional 488 million leks for the centralized net incomes of the state budget and the net incomes of the enterprises themselves, that is, 14.6 percent more than in 1979.

The normal financing of expenditures to develop the economy and the social and cultural sectors, as well as to consolidate the country's defense potential was assured on this basis, securing at the same time a budget surplus of 80 million leks.

The 1980 achievements are once again a testimony of the vitality and stability of the economy in the face of the pressure of the imperialist and revisionist blockade, as well as of the total failure of the efforts made by Chinese revisionism which, aligning itself openly in the blockade against Socialist Albania, unilaterally cut off all credits and economic agreements with our country.

Despite all the successes, the tasks were not completely fulfilled in accordance with the plan in certain branches and sectors of the economy. Many of the nonfulfillments were due to the difficulties and obstacles created by the imperialist and revisionist economic blockade and encirclement. But some of them are also due to weaknesses and shortcomings in the organizational and management work of the ministries, People's Council executive committees in the districts, economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives and to the insufficient measures taken by them to fulfill the planned tasks.

Some of the deficits created against the plan were considerable, particularly those in the agricultural sector, in oil and coal extraction, in some sectors of the light and food industry, in construction and in exports. The AWP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers were compelled to take special measures to overcome their consequences in the progress of enlarged reproduction.

As to nonfulfillment of the plan last year, the Council of Ministers has analyzed and criticized the shortcomings in the work of the Ministry of Industry and Mining, the Ministry of Light and Food, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of Foreign Trade, and has adopted a number of measures to ensure that the work of the state and economic organs be raised to the level of the tasks stipulated by the party for scientific management of the economy.

Comrade deputies, these were some of the achievements and some of major problems arising in the course of fulfilling the 1980 plan. On the basis of the aforementioned achievements in the development of the economy and culture in 1980 and for the 5-year period as a whole, of the great efforts made by collectives in the cities and in the countryside and on the basis of numerous studies carried out by the central organs concerning the potential in developing various branches and sectors of the economy and culture, the Council of Ministers has worked out the draft plan for the development of the economy and culture for 1981 and for the Seventh 5-Year Period.



The new 5-year period will also open up new and even more brilliant prospects to our economy and to our country on the path of fully building the socialist society on the basis of the principles of self-reliance. The production forces in all branches and sectors of the economy and culture will develop at a rapid pace, socialist production relations will be perfected further in a revolutionary way, the country's defense potential will be further increased and a further improvement of the standard of living of the people will be attained.

The draft plan for 1981, which is also the first year of the Seventh 5-Year Period, was examined by the Ninth AWP Central Committee Plenum. Having secured the approval of the AWP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers is presenting the draft economic plan and draft budget for 1981 to this session of the People's Assembly to be legalized.

## II. On the 1981 Draft Plan for the Development of the Economy and Culture and Draft State Budget

The 1981 draft state plan for the development of the economy and culture and draft budget take into consideration not only the growing needs of the people, the economy and defense, but also the real possibilities of meeting them. It is a balanced plan, from the material as well as from the financial aspect, harmonizing the material resources with their utilization, that is, with the needs for producers' consumption, individual and social consumption, exports, and essential accumulation for the purpose of ensuring enlarged reproduction, the country's defense and the increase of material reserves at all levels. Together with the draft plan that is being presented, directives have been defined to ensure the transformation of financial accumulation into material accumulation on the basis of the greatest possible effectiveness.

On the basis of expectations for the development of the various branches of material production, total social production in 1981 compared with 1980 is expected to rise 7.6 percent and national incomes 8.9 percent. These represent high rates and reflect a great but also essential and feasible demand for an increased effectiveness of the economy.

Total industrial production in 1981 is expected to increase 7.2 percent compared with 1980. Priority will be given, as always, to increasing the production of heavy industry and, particularly, to developing the power industry.

Oil extraction is expected to increase 19 percent over that of 1980. In defining the tasks pertaining to oil extraction, the Council of Ministers has kept in mind that it should be achieved from existing fields and those that have been discovered and are known. In the same way, the Council of Ministers has instructed the Ministry of Industry and Mining, as well as the People's Council executive committees in the respective districts to ensure the fulfillment of the planned tasks from the existing fields and those that have been discovered and are known, as well as to utilize the material and technical base of the oil industry with high efficiency.

The fulfillment of the tasks pertaining to oil extraction in 1981 confronts the workers, cadres and specialists of this sector of particular importance to the economy with the need to strengthen scientific and labor discipline in both survey and extraction drilling where weaknesses and shortcomings were observed last year, which, in certain cases, have had harmful consequences for the economy. They must work better to extend and utilize supplementary rational methods to effectively exploit oil and gas reserves. Concentrating attention on fulfilling tasks in oil and gas extraction, it is also required that deeper studies should be carried out and work be improved to discover new oil and gas-bearing fields, fulfilling all the tasks stipulated by the plan in this direction.

The 1981 plan also stipulates bigger tasks in coal extraction and the production of electricity. [paragraph continues]



The Council of Ministers has instructed the Ministry of Industry and Mining, the district People's Council executive committees and the mining enterprises to further increase the degree of labor mechanization and to organize the extraction of coal on a sounder scientific basis in accordance with the conditions in particular mines in order to reduce the losses incurred during the extraction process.

The increased output of production by the power industry in 1981 will also be accompanied by implementing further measures to strengthen the regime of thrift in its use. In addition to improving the norms for the utilization of liquid, solid and gaseous fuels and electricity, a greater effort will also be made to improve technological processes and to considerably reduce consumption. It is the duty of all states and economic organs to fully implement these tasks.

The 1981 draft plan also stipulates growing tasks in other sectors of the mining industry such as chrome and iron, the "Steel of the Party" metallurgical combine, the chemical industry, the construction materials industry, and so forth. These tasks will be fulfilled mainly from better utilizing existing production capacities.

One of the major tasks in 1981 is developing the engineering industry, which must aim at better fulfilling the tasks confronting it to technically equip the economy and maintain the stock of machinery and equipment in use and install new lines, units and factories through our own efforts. The Council of Ministers and various ministries will continue to work for the concentration and coordination of engineering industry production, to secure a better utilization of the capacities of that branch and to further improve the quality of its products.

The ministries and enterprises concerned with coordination tasks for the production of machinery and equipment have been instructed to adopt the necessary measures to set out tasks for the engineering and technical personnel concerned with designs in the research and scientific institutions, as well as in the enterprises themselves, to design machinery and equipment within the stipulated schedules and to adopt all other measures needed to master their production.

In addition to developing heavy industry, the draft plan also stipulates the rapid development of the light and food industry. The production of mass consumer goods (Group B) in 1981 is expected to increase 6.8 percent, that is, about 3 times faster than the population increase. These tasks will also be fulfilled through improvements to be made in the structure of mass consumer commodities in order to better meet the needs of the population in quantity, quality, variety, size and so forth. Considerable investments will also be made, particularly to expand production capacities and master the production of some new products in light industry.

The Council of Ministers has drawn the attention of the Ministry of Light Industry and Food Industry to strengthen the struggle against manifestations of chasing after global results or after quantity to the detriment of quality, of underrating the production of small items, these being weaknesses and shortcomings which become obstacles to fulfilling plans and to meeting the needs of the population. The Ministry of Light Industry and Food Industry, the Ministry of Communal Economy, the Ministry of Internal Trade and the district People's Council executive committees will further intensify the struggle against bureaucratic manifestations hindering the production of new articles, particularly by stimulating and supporting initiatives to utilize all reserves that exist to increase production on the basis of local raw materials, as well as all "wastes" of industry by transforming them into useful objects to meet the needs of the population.

Total agricultural output in 1981 will be 13.1 percent higher than in 1980. The stipulated increases are larger for some products such as sunflower, cotton, potatoes, tobacco, milk and so forth.

The Council of Ministers will continue to keep at the center of its attention the tasks set out in the 1981 plan to develop agriculture and has stipulated tasks and will work to ensure that the state and economic organs of the agricultural sector at the grass-roots, in the districts and at the center will further intensify their mobilization and efforts to fulfill the plan. The cooperativists and agricultural workers are confronted with great and responsible tasks. These concern the scientific treatment of the soil and the rational utilization of both organic and chemical fertilizers, water, agricultural machinery and so forth, in order to secure the planned yields. The Ministry of Agriculture and dependent organs are required to make particular efforts to improve agro-technical measures and their implementation on the basis of advanced science and technology and of the advanced experience of numerous agricultural teams, sectors and economies. In particular, the technological processes concerning preparation of the fodder base for livestock and its increased effectiveness through industrialization will have to be speeded up.

The material and technical base placed at the disposal of agriculture is powerful and sufficient to ensure the fulfillment of plans. But this would be insufficient if it were not used in accordance with correct scientific criteria and with a high degree of efficiency. Numerous examples show that in those economies where good work has been done in this direction, the effectiveness of the utilization of agricultural machinery has been twice as that of other economies operating under comparable conditions. The Ministry of Agriculture and the district People's Council executive committees, as has been instructed by the Ninth AWP Central Committee Plenum, must therefore radically improve their work to perfect the scientific management of agricultural economies, to strengthen proletarian discipline at work and to implement all necessary measures concerning the organized dissemination of advanced experience and control of its implementation.

As in previous years, bread grains constitute the major element in the 1981 agricultural plan. Centering attention on the struggle for grains, however, does not mean that the tasks concerning producing industrial crops, the livestock sector, horticulture and so forth, are less important. The overall fulfillment of agricultural tasks constitutes the most important duty of the Ministry of Agriculture and its dependent organs. This requires that all the working people and all state and economic organs in the agricultural sector should become more aware and should increase their responsibility for the nonfulfillment of tasks and its consequences for the development of the economy.

On the basis of the 1981 tasks, the consumption fund is to increase side by side with the accumulation fund. In order to secure the development of the economy and culture, however, the accumulation fund is expected to rise more rapidly than the consumption fund. On this basis, investments for the state and cooperative sector, taken together, will increase 5.8 percent over 1980, while investments for construction and installation work will increase by 2.9 percent.

Work on the large projects carried from the previous year and on those planned to commence this year will be intensified in order to reduce schedules as much as possible, this being one of the main ways of increasing the effectiveness of capital investments. It is expected that the largest part of the planned projects will be fully or partially commissioned this year. The fulfillment of this task requires further revolutionization of the method of management by the Ministry of Construction, eliminating those manifestations of routine work and liberal manifestations hindering closer and more effective assistance to the construction enterprises.

Other sectors of the economy and culture are also expected to have higher tasks. In the development of transportation, priority has been given to increasing the volume of railroad transportation. In addition to building and commissioning the Lac-Lezhe-Shkoder railroad within the stipulated time, the Council of Ministers has adopted special measures to intensify railroad transportation and has given responsibility to the Ministry of Communications to eliminate the spirit of liberal concessions in this matter and the inclination to make more use of road transportation when every opportunity exists for commodities to be carried by rail.

The tasks stipulated to increase retail trade and the volume of communal services will make it possible to improve services and better meet the needs of the population. The internal trade and communal organs have been set tasks to further improve the supply of commodities and their structure and to extend communal repair services, in accordance with the needs of the population.

The state plan and budget also stipulate tasks for the development of the social and cultural sectors. In the context of the tasks for the development of education and culture, particular attention will continue to be devoted to raising the quality of teaching for a better ideopolitical, technical, professional training and the physical and military tempering of students and pupils in order to make them into able workers and specialists to meet the needs of the economy. Important measures are also stipulated to protect and further improve the health of the population. A greater effort will be made to raise the work of the organs of the health service to a higher level, particularly to better implement prophylactic measures in the health service.

On the basis of expectations concerning development of the branches of material production and other sectors of the economy, as well as their effectiveness through increased labor productivity and the reduction of material expenditure for every unit of production, construction, transportation and service, the 1981 budget incomes are expected to rise 9.1 percent. Measures have been taken and work is being carried out in every ministry, district People's Council Executive Committee, enterprise and cooperative for a more operational followup of financial indicators in order to achieve this task.

The state budget expenditure is expected to rise 9.7 percent, compared with 1980. About 59.6 percent will be allocated to financing the development of the national economy, 24.4 percent to social-cultural measures and 11.5 percent to the country's defense.

In determining the 1981 tasks, the Council of Ministers has given instruction and has adopted measures to further improve the work of the state and economic organs at the grassroots, in the districts and at the center, that they may be up to the level required by the tasks of the 1981 plan budget.

### III. Some of the Main Directions on Which the Work of the State and Economic Organs Will Be Concentrated To Fulfill the Tasks of the 1981 Plan and Budget

Examining the 1981 draft plan, the Ninth AWP Central Committee Plenum held in February this year gave instructions and defined important tasks for the plan's fulfillment. These tasks, as well as those arising from the very important speech delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha at this plenum, are being programmed at all levels of economic management to ensure their implementation.

In the framework of the all-out effort to implement the decisions of the Ninth AWP Central Committee Plenum and to fulfill the 1981 tasks, the Council of Ministers has adopted measures and will work to ensure that the care and attention of the state and economic organs at the grassroots, the districts and the center be centered on certain main directions:

1. On the adoption of measures to further strengthen discipline and the sense of responsibility for the all-out fulfillment of all planned tasks at every level of the economy.

It is a general characteristic that work is carried out everywhere with a sense of responsibility and mobilization to fulfill the plan. In 1980 and other years of the sixth 5-year period, however, there have also been cases of nonfulfillment on the part of some economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives as a result of a lack of plan discipline and of responsibility for the tasks stipulated.

Necessary measures have been stipulated to fulfill the 1981 planned tasks in all its economic and financial indicators. A particular effort was made in drafting the plan to ensure better coordination between production and supplies, to better utilize existing production capacities and create new capacities as rapidly as possible, to consolidate material reserves to insure rhythmical production, and so forth.

However, the Council of Ministers will continue to work to ensure that the various departments and the People's Council executive committees raise their work to the required level in order to fulfill the plan in all its economic, technical-economic and financial indicators.

In this direction it is necessary that the ministries, People's Council executive committees and agricultural cooperatives should better organize the effort to constantly keep check on the fulfillment of the plan in order to be able to take timely measures to confront problems that may arise in the course of its implementation and avoid deficits or eliminate them as quickly as possible should such deficits be created.

Measures are still being taken to deepen this effort through analyses at all levels of state and economic management and to ensure an operational followup and solution to problems that may arise. In addition, efforts are being made to implement other measures determined by the Council of Ministers through special decisions which are intended to raise the interest and sense of responsibility of all working people, on the shop floor or in management, for the overall fulfillment of planned tasks. All these measures will lead to ensuring unity between the plan and its fulfillment in accordance with the tasks set out by the Ninth AWP Central Committee Plenum.

In the context of the all-out fulfillment of the planned tasks in all its indicators and links, the Council of Ministers has directed that in addition to greater efforts to be made by the branches of material production to fulfill the tasks, the care and attention of the state and economic organs should center on fulfilling export tasks.

It is essential that everyone should understand profoundly that our economy, which is progressing on the basis of the principle of self-reliance, does not develop as a closed economy, but that it also produces for export in order to be able to import raw and other materials, machinery and other essential commodities for the economy and the population. The nonfulfillment of export tasks last year also resulted in the nonfulfillment of import tasks in commodities and raw materials, creating difficulties in fulfilling the plan in some branches and sectors of the economy.

The 1981 export tasks are considerably greater than last year's. The fulfillment by the producers of all export tasks, both quantitatively and qualitatively, will be at the center of attention of the ministries and district people's councils executive committees, which are also taking the necessary measures to ensure the further improvement of the quality of export goods and a better packaging and presentation of these goods.

The Council of Ministers has also set out tasks for the Ministry of Foreign Trade and its dependent organs, particularly concerning increased efforts to expand sale markets, to sell export goods profitably, and to ensure timely delivery and regular importation of commodities needed by the economy.

In the measures already adopted and those to be adopted in the future to fulfill the tasks stipulated for the increased production of mass consumer goods, the Council of Ministers has directed the production, internal trade and communal economy organs to give priority to the tasks pertaining to fulfilling contracts, further strengthening discipline in this field.

2. Great care will be devoted to raising the effectiveness of the economy in general.



The 1981 plan tasks stipulate further elevating the effectiveness of production and of the economy as a whole. Fulfillment of these tasks condition the increase in the national incomes which are essential to increase accumulation in all its forms, as well as the consumption fund of the population. In accordance with the tasks set out by the Ninth AWP Central Committee Plenum, the Council of Ministers is working with the ministries and the districts to achieve increased labor productivity in all economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, the thrifty utilization of materials and funds and the strengthening of the regimen of thrift including in the nonproduction sector, such as education, health, administration and so forth.

In order to fulfill the tasks stipulated by the 1981 plan on raising the effectiveness of the economy, strengthening further the regimen of thrift, thrifty utilization of everything in the economy--including the expenditure of all values created by labor, both current and past--will be one of the major directions on which all working collectives and all state and economic organs will concentrate their attention and care.

The aim of the efforts and of the measures carried out in all branches and sections of the economy and culture to strengthen the regimen of thrift will be to secure the essential material and financial resources needed to increase production and complete planned projects, as well as to consolidate the essential material and foreign currency resources to ensure regular fulfillment of the plan and to be in a position to better meet the circumstances and the influence exerted on our foreign trade by the crises in the capitalist and revisionist world.

The tasks of the state and economic organs pertaining to consolidating reserves apply not only to imported raw and other materials, but also domestic ones, since a certain tendency observed among some state and economic organs and managers to underrate the question of domestic raw and other materials has led to a failure to utilize full production capacities and, in some cases, even to the interruption of production.

Through greater effort to implement a stringent regimen of thrift, enterprises and cooperatives will ensure the fulfillment of plans. This will guarantee the preservation of proportions in enlarged reproduction, on which depends, in turn, the achievement of proportions in the context of the economy as a whole.

Bearing in mind that the planned proportions of economic development require primarily fulfillment of planned tasks in the sphere of material production, the ministries have adopted and continue to take measures needed to achieve the best possible use of existing production capacities. This will be at the center of attention because there are state and economic organs which fail to appreciate this in practice and, consequently, saddle the economy with supplementary expenditures of labor and materials.

The Council of Ministers has also asked all state and economic organs to better tackle the financial indicators of the plan in order to ensure their fulfillment, because the deficits created in the past in these indicators has influenced the development of the economy according to planned rates. In particular, the ministries and the district people's councils executive committees should work better, through concrete studies and measures, to eliminate losses incurred in certain activities and to prevent enterprises scheduled to work at a profit from incurring losses.

The tasks stipulated in the field of production and of increasing its effectiveness require that the state and economic organs at all levels should better tackle the great tasks set out by the Eighth AWP Central Committee Plenum concerning the development of science and technology. The Council of Ministers has programmed the tasks of the departments, districts and the base to deepen the technical and scientific revolution, reflecting them also in the level of the planned indicators to be attained in 1981.



In order to implement these tasks, the central departments have been instructed to adopt measures to improve the work of the scientific and research institutions, the various working and study groups set up, the technical and technological bureaus of enterprises and so forth. The central departments have also been instructed to tighten up their control over the fulfillment of the plan of scientific and research activities. In order to raise the level of the management of scientific activity, the Committee for Science and Technology attached to the Council of Ministers will provide special assistance in this field.

To further raise the effectiveness of production and of the economy as a whole, all state and economic organs are confronted with tasks. However, efforts will also be made to further raise the work and the role of the planning and financial organs, particularly regarding more widespread analytical work in order to avoid any disproportions that may arise in the course of implementing the plan.

3. On further improving the planned organization and management of the economy and of distributive relations.

The constant improvement of socialist production relations along a revolutionary path is one of the major objectives of the party's economic line and policy and of our socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The problems that have arisen in this field have been treated and resolved in accordance with the needs of the development of production forces and have been intended to precede this development always on a socialist road, in the interests of building and defending socialism in our country.

In accordance with the party's orientations to further perfect the planned management of the economy and distributive relations, the Council of Ministers has recently adopted certain special decisions. These decisions are intended to ensure that the planned management of the economy is raised to a higher level, particularly by further strengthening its planned and centralized management, as well as to better link the fulfillment of the planned tasks, quality and production costs, with the remuneration of labor in industry, agriculture and other branches of the economy. These measures will result in an increased sense of responsibility on the part of all working people and in strengthening plan and labor discipline by all working people in economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives. The task of the state and economic organs is to make a special effort to grasp the revolutionary substance of these measures, looking upon them as related to further perfecting socialist production relations. In addition, the task arises of ensuring full implementation of these measures as it will further strengthen the struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy and liberalism in the work of certain state and economic organs.

As always and in the future, the Council of Ministers will support the revolutionary initiatives of the working masses related to perfecting socialist production relations. The Council of Ministers has instructed the Ministry of Agriculture, district People's Council executive committees and agricultural cooperatives, as well as all other state and economic organs, to strongly support the revolutionary initiative of the cooperative peasantry to herd together the personal livestock of cooperativists, this being a particularly important method leading to strengthening cooperative property and to raising the mobilization of the cooperative peasantry to fulfill planned tasks.

Comrade deputies, the international situation in which our people are entering the new 5-year period is fraught with serious dangers to the freedom of the peoples and various countries. This situation is caused by the serious and comprehensive crisis which has gripped the capitalist and revisionist system, and from which it can find no way out. The crisis has encompassed the entire sociopolitical, economic, financial and other activities of the capitalist and revisionist system, on the one hand, and on the other, has resulted in exacerbating all the contradictions of that decaying and moribund system. U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and Chinese social-imperialism are currently carrying out feverish and comprehensive activity, to start aggression against the countries and peoples struggling for freedom and independence, in order to divide and redive areas of influence at the expense and to the detriment of the peoples.

The U.S. administration, which is defending the interests of the most reactionary forces of U.S. imperialism, has intensified its efforts and is striving by all means to regain the positions that it lost in certain areas of the international arena as a result of the defeats it suffered in the just struggle of various peoples in the world, as in Iran and elsewhere. In the same way, Soviet social-imperialism continues to pursue an aggressive policy and to interfere in various ways in the internal political life of other countries, as in Afghanistan, Poland and elsewhere, while Chinese revisionism, stimulated and supported by international imperialism--particularly U.S. imperialism--is feverishly intensifying its efforts to emerge in the international arena, becoming a serious threat to peace on the Asian Continent.

The imperialist policy implemented by the superpowers have become a cause of serious situations in various areas of the world, such as the Middle East, the Persian Gulf, Southeast and Southwest Asia, Poland, Central America and so forth.

However, although the superpowers are increasingly wielding the whip of the international policeman, the struggle of the oppressed colonial and semicolonial peoples and countries for freedom, independence and social progress has further increased, marking new victories.

Both capitalism and revisionism have also failed in their efforts to escape the severe economic and financial crisis in which they have sunk. On the contrary, a further deepening of that economic and financial crisis, the energy crisis and so forth, was observed last year. Prices are rising rapidly and inflation is also growing fast in the capitalist and revisionist countries. Millions upon millions more workers have swollen the ranks of the unemployed, while production continues to decline in numerous branches of industry; numerous small, middle-sized and even large enterprises have gone bankrupt, being unable to meet the competition of the monopolies. But the class struggle of the working class and other working masses of the capitalist and revisionist countries against exploitation and the efforts of the bourgeoisie to unburden the consequences of the crisis onto their backs has also grown.

The AWP and the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania have always correctly assessed the international situation and have adopted and continue to adopt constant measures to make certain that our country will never be caught unaware and will never fall into the traps of the imperialist and revisionist policies or the false conjunctures which the superpowers are trying to create.

The Council of Ministers has also instructed the state and economic organs to delve deeply into the meaning of the international situation and to constantly draw new tasks to successfully confront it and, particularly, to link these tasks better with increased efforts to fulfill the plans.

Comrade deputies, the working masses of the cities and countryside have been working for nearly 3 months now to fulfill the 1981 tasks. Good results have been obtained during this period in fulfilling the planned tasks and in making up the lag in which some branches and sectors of the economy found themselves last year.

In addition, after acquainting themselves with the decision of the Ninth AWP Central Committee Plenum to convene the Eighth AWP Congress, the working collectives of economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives are discussing and are making revolutionary pledges and adopting revolutionary initiatives concerning the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 1981 tasks, as well as to go to the congress and the jubilee celebrations of the party's 40th anniversary with successes.

The Council of Ministers has directed all state and economic organs and is adopting the necessary measures to strongly support these revolutionary initiatives, that they may be turned into reality. [paragraph continues]

In this direction, the ministries and People's Council executive committees, in cooperation with the mass organizations, are working not only to register the initiatives, but also to program the effort at every level of economic management to support, generalize and implement the initiatives.

In presenting the 1981 draft state plan and draft state budget for legalization, the Council of Ministers expresses the full conviction that the working masses and the state and economic organs will increase their mobilization to implement the decisions of the ninth AWP Central Committee plenum and go to the eighth congress with even greater victories in all fields of life. They will further increase the efforts to fulfill the 1981 tasks by furthering the construction and defense of socialism in our country and thus raise the prosperity of the people and make Socialist Albania even more beautiful and strong, remaining at all times an invincible fortress of socialism in Europe and in the world.

The prospects which the 1981 plan opens up to the economy will certainly become a reality, because they are based on the steellike unity and undaunted struggle of the party and of the people to resolutely advance.

A guarantee of this lies in the leadership of the party, which has always led and continues to lead our people from victory to victory; a guarantee of it lies in the correct Marxist-Leninist policy of the party and its Central Committee led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, our beloved leader, which are leading us on the brilliant road of socialism and communism.

CENTRAL CONTROL-AUDITING COMMISSION MEMBERS NAMED

AU071022 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Apr 81 p 2

[BCP "Central Committee Central Control-Auditing Commission members," elected by the 12th BCP Congress in Sofia at its closed session on 4 April]

[Text] Aleksandur Bogdanov; Aleksandur Todorov; Angel Veleve; Angel Petrov; Andrey Mikhaylov; Asen Marinchevski; Asen Yankov; Atanas Popov; Boyko Todorov; Boycho Ivanov; Boris Bogdanov; Boris Bonev; Boris Milev; Boris Popov; Branimir Ormanov; Vasil Balevski; Vasil Zlatev; Vasil Terziev; Vasil Uzunov; Velichko Velichkov; Velko Semkov; Velyu Maksimov; Vulka Goranov; Vulchko Khimirski; Ganka Andreeva; Georgi Aleksandrov; Georgi Evtimov; Georgi Minev; Georgi Petrov; Georgi Pirinski; Georgi Sharkov; Georgi Shekhtov; Gitsa Tsvetkova; Delcho Lulchev; Delcho Cholakov; Delyana Chavdarova; Dimitur Vasilev; Dimitur Ganev; Dimitur Gogov; Dimitur Zlatev; Dimitur Mikhaylov; Dimitur Naydenov; Dimitur Stoilov; Docho Shipkov; Evtim Kostov; Evtim Krustev; Elena Chavdarova; Emil Cherveniyakov; Zapryan Tashev; Zdravko Mitovski; Ivan Asakliev; Ivan Beshev; Ivan Delev; Ivan Zhelev; Ivan Ilchev; Ivan Konorski; Ivan Nikolov; Ivan Paliyski; Ivan Todorov; Yordan Asenov; Yordan Enchev; Yordanka Kaprielova; Yordanka Marova; Kiril Dochev; Kiril Nestorov; Kolyu Kolarov; Komnya Sotirova; Konstantin Minchev; Kostadin Ivanov; Lilyana Pavlova; Lilyana Papratilova; Margarita Delina; Marin Dzhermanov; Marin Kiryakov; Marko Milev; Martin Sarov; Maryan Stoykov; Minko Minkov; Miropa Boneva; Mikhail Tsonev; Mladen Kostov; Nedyalka Nikolova; Netso Garvanski; Nikola Ganchev; Nikola Nikolov; Pavel Yordanov; Paun Savov; Penyu Zhelev; Petur Bozhikov; Petur Buchakchiev; Petur Iliev; Petur Nikov; Petur Panayotov; Raycho Penchev; Rafet Seydaliyev; Rumen Boyadzhiev; Ruska Grozeva; Ruska Stoeva; Sava Bozhilov; Slavko Nikolov; Slavcho Vasev; Slavcho Radomirski; Slavcho Shopov; Stamo Kerezov; Stoil Lozev; Stoyo Chochoolu; Stoycho Banov; Stoyu Kyosev; Stoyan Abadzhiev; Stoyan Draganov; Stoyan Karadzhov; Tatyana Koleva; Tinko Vodenicharov; Todorka Groshevska; Tone Perenovski; Tosko Yanev; Trifon Pangelov; Khristo Tsachev; Tsanyo Bakalov; Tsanyo Gabrovski; Yuliy Karaivanov.

12TH BCP CONGRESS AMENDS PARTY STATUTE 4 APRIL

AU070644 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Apr 81 p 3

["Text" of the report of the Commission on Proposals on Amendments and Addenda to the BCP Statute, and decision of the 12th BCP Congress on amendments and addenda to the party statute, read by Georgi Atanasov, BCP Central Committee secretary, at the 12th BCP Congress 4 April morning session, and unanimously approved by the delegates]

[Text] Comrade delegates, the Commission on Amendments and Addenda to the BCP Statute has discussed the proposals, which have been submitted, as well as the delegates' considerations and statements, and the written proposals, which have been submitted to the commission.

The last amendments of the party statute were adopted by the 10th BCP Congress in 1971. During the period after adopting the party program, the BCP Central Committee and Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally elaborated substantial questions of our social development and the party's activity. These elaborations were comprehensively tested in life and have been consolidated as norms of party work.

Significant changes have also taken place in the sphere of social relations, in the development of our society's socioclass structure and in social management.

The development of the party during this period, and the objective social changes, must be reflected by the party statute.

It is the commission's opinion that the amendments and addenda, which have been articulated, are necessary and well-argued. Though they have a partial character, simultaneously, it must be stressed that they have an important significance precisely from the point of view of the necessity to reflect these achievements of the party's theoretical thought and practical activity, which will create even more favorable conditions for increasing the activity of communists and party organs and organizations in the struggle for implementing the new qualitative tasks set by the 12th BCP Congress.



The amendments and addenda, which have a significant character, relate to the postulates on the historic place and role of the Leninist April line in the life of the party and country, on the logical increase of the party's leading role in the period of building the developed socialist society, on the primary organization as the leading political nucleus of the working collective and an example of its future state, on increasing the role of the local party organs and organizations and amendments in the content of their leading activity, on increasing the title of BCP member in accordance with the character of the tasks of our contemporary development, on better and highly effective assertion of youth in the country's life, and so forth.

From an editorial point of view, the adjustments of the statute which have been made are related to the structural amendments and some functions of the party organs and organizations in accordance with the new conurbation system of the country. Through them, we can better express the character of the processes in socialist society, in the socialist way of life and in the activity of the party organs and organizations.

In this respect, during the meeting of the sections, remarks related to the separate texts of the draft were made. They were expedient and must be reflected in the final draft.

Comrades, during the debates at this congress, many okrug organizations introduced the proposal to restore the post of BCP Central Committee secretary general. (applause) It is well known that during the preparations for the 11th BCP Congress and during the present precongress campaign, rank and file party members, old revolutionary cadres, party organizations and working collectives raised this question with the insistent request that have a positive solution.

Accepting the considerations, which have been expressed, as argued, the commission thinks that the restoration of the post of BCP Central Committee secretary general is duly necessary, and of high principled significance and political topicality. (applause)

This is a matter which is essentially connected with the traditions of the communist movement and our party's responsibility as a leading and guiding force, with the asserted role and authority of its first leader.

This is even more important when one takes into consideration that this post was consolidated in our party's organizational principles and structure during the Dimitrov period, and the communists evaluate its restoration as a new expression of the historic connection between the Dimitrov course and the April line. (applause)

The BCP is at the peak of its creative and political maturity. The 12th BCP Congress is an exceptionally vital reincarnation and new manifestation of the April spirit and April atmosphere in the party life and activity. Already mentioned in the resolution on the 25th anniversary of the BCP Central Committee April plenum, adopted by the congress, this is a bright proof of how beneficial and irreversible the transformations introduced during the April stage are, not only in our material and spiritual development, but also in the party itself--in its way of thinking, style of work and deeds.

The restoration of the post of BCP Central Committee secretary general will better and more precisely embody the unity of the party and its creative force, and the role of its first leader as a figure with brightly manifested qualities, whose activity, under the conditions of the collective method of leadership and the principle of democratic centralism, is an exceptionally important factor for implementing the party leading role, strengthening the moral-political unity of the people and consistently implementing the Leninist norms of party life.

With complete justification and unanimity, the 12th BCP Congress voiced the highest evaluation of the contribution and merits of Comrade Todor Zhivkov to consistently develop and implement the April line, and of the great achievements of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. There is no doubt that the restoration of the post of secretary general will give even better expression to Comrade Todor Zhivkov's consolidated role as the first leader of the work and construction of our glorious Dimitrov-Blagoev party. (applause)



Because of all these considerations, the commission proposes that the congress adopt the proposal on restoring the post of BCP Central Committee secretary general, and make the appropriate amendment of the statute.

On behalf of the commission, I propose that the congress adopt the following decision: The 12th BCP Congress adopts the submitted proposals on amendments and addenda to the BCP Statute.

PCI'S BIRARDI'S GREETINGS AT CONGRESS RECOUNTED

LDO71239 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 4 Apr 81 p 19

[A.M. dispatch: "Comrade Birardi Delivers PCI's Greetings to Bulgarian Communists' Congress"]

[Text] Sofia--Today sees the end of the 12th Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Congress, with the election of the leadership bodies. Yesterday PCI Secretariat member Comrade Mario Birardi delivered the PCI's greetings message to the plenary session at the Palace of Culture.

"Relations between our parties," he said, "are based on solid and long-standing friendship. They have deep roots in the history in which both our parties have played a prominent role in the shared battles against Nazism-Fascism and in the lengthy joint cooperation between Comrade Georgi Dimitrov and Comrade Palmiro Togliatti."

Having illustrated the PCI's strength and role in the struggles for our country's social transformations, for democracy and against terrorism, inflation and the economic crisis, Birardi presented the PCI's stances on international topics: "We," he said, "have expressed our interest in and esteem for the proposals contained in Comrade Brezhnev's speech for disarmament negotiations, a moratorium on medium-range missiles, the attainment of a balanced reduction--as we Italian communists urged some time ago--and for a meeting with the U.S. President and other government leaders to set in motion negotiations on the principal problems of the moment, so as to establish an atmosphere of greater trust, which will make possible the resumption of dialogue, the reintroduction of the detente policy and the solution of some local conflicts, especially in the Middle Eastern area.

"The differences of position," he added, "that exist between our party and other communist parties on a number of issues, including our position on Afghanistan, have already been clearly expressed by us. Be that as it may, we believe it is not only possible but necessary to work to seek a political solution in Afghanistan based on negotiations that must be held among the sides concerned. This position stems from all our research and formulations and from the profound conviction that the independence and sovereignty of every state and every people are an inalienable principle for socialism and in waging a struggle consistent with detente.

"Similarly," Birardi continued, "we also express our anxieties and worries about what is happening in socialist Poland. Our hope is that the Polish comrades will themselves find a political way to carry on the renewal process and to surmount the existing tensions."

Birardi concluded by expressing to the Bulgarian communists the most heartfelt good wishes "for further major results" and "the development and strengthening of cooperation between our parties and countries in the interests of progress and peace."

MORE DELEGATIONS TO BCP CONGRESS LEAVE COUNTRY

AU071447 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] The following delegations which attended the 12th BCP Congress have left Bulgaria: The delegation of the Indian Communist Party; the National Progressive Leftist Party of Egypt; the delegation of the Israeli Communist Party, the Mexican Communist Party; the Sandinist Liberation Front-Nicaragua; the Vietnam Communist Party led by Army Gen Chu Huy Man, Politburo member of the Central Committee and chief of the main political administration of the Vietnamese Army; the Venezuelan Communist Party, and of the Frelimo party of Mozambique.

At Sofia Airport the delegations were seen off by Dimitur Stanishev and Chudomir Aleksandrov, BCP Central Committee secretaries, by the members and candidate members of the BCP Central Committee Georgi Dimitrov Goshkin, Emil Khristov, Maria Zakahrieva, Rimen Serbezov and Stanoy Yonev.

ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME REPORTS BREZHNEV SPEECH IN PRAGUE

AU080915 Sofia BTA in English 0820 GMT 8 Apr 81

["With Leninist Ardour"--BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 8 Apr (BTA)--Under the above heading today's ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME carries an editorial on Mr Leonid Brezhnev's speech at the 16th congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

"The speech of the secretary general of the CPSU CC and president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR is a fresh manifestation of the staunch internationalistic course of the CPSU" says the daily. The solidarity, and the unity of the socialist community countries is a guarantee and a reliable cover against the subversive encroachments of imperialism."

Further on it is said in the article that from Prague, the center of Europe, the Soviet party leader and head of state appealed for concrete steps in curbing the arms race. The paper goes on to stress that the Soviet willingness for an honest dialogue is in high contrast with the unwillingness of certain Western circles, of whom a prompt and positive answer to the explicit Soviet initiatives is expected.

"The speech of Mr Leonid Brezhnev will undoubtedly step up the efforts of the world public in favor of the far-sighted decisions. The speech has provided a powerful impulse to the further struggle of peace," says ZEMEDEL'SKO ZNAME.

TRANSPORTATION PROTOCOL SIGNED IN SOFIA WITH CUBA

AU071725 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Summary] "A protocol on further scientific-technical and economic cooperation in the sphere of transportation between Bulgaria and Cuba was signed in Sofia today." Vasil Tsanov, minister of transportation, and Guillermo Garcia Frias, Politburo member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and vice president of the State Council and Council of Ministers and also minister of transportation, spoke on the importance of the protocol in further developing bilateral relations in transportation.

STATE COUNCIL SCHEDULES ELECTIONS FOR 7 JUNE

AU071925 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] The State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, in accordance with the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, sets for 7 June elections for the eighth National Assembly, for people's councils, mayors and people's councillors at the municipalities, as well as for judges and jurors at the regional and okrug courts. The State Council, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, the minister of justice and the chairmen of the people's councils executive committees are assigned the responsibility of executing this decree.

HUSAK DELIVERS MAIN REPORT TO 16TH CONGRESS

LD060946 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0822 GMT 6 Apr 81

[CPCZ Central Committee report on fulfillment of the conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and the tasks for the forthcoming period delivered by Gustav Husak, CPCZ general secretary, at the opening session of the 16th CPCZ Congress in Prague's Palace of Culture on 6 April--live]

[Text] Dear comrades! Dear foreign guests! On behalf of the Central Committee I am submitting to the 16th CPCZ Congress the report on the fulfillment of the conclusion of the 15th Congress and the tasks for the forthcoming period.

The entire preconference campaign, the critical and self-critical atmosphere of the annual membership meetings, party conferences, the CPSL Congress, the broad political and labor activity of the people--all have created good prerequisites for our deliberations. We are confident that the 16th Congress will be a significant milestone on the path of the further construction of an advanced socialist society in Czechoslovakia.

Our congress is meeting on the eve of the 60th anniversary of the foundation of the CPCZ. The revolutionary vanguard of the Czechoslovak proletariat came into being with the creation of the Marxist-Leninist party; it has proved itself as the most progressive political force in Czechoslovak history, in the history of our nations. Only under the leadership of our Communist Party was it possible for our people to defeat the bourgeoisie and to achieve the socialist reality of today. The path covered in those 60 years by our party is the path of a heroic struggle, tests and sacrifices. The time will come when people will find it hard to believe what was poverty, exploitation, humiliation of the working man, but those who did the work of the pioneers of communism will forever stay in the memory of the future generations.

We shall never forget those who stood at the creation of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat in Czechoslovakia and led the party in its struggles. Great moral strength and courage, strong conviction and great self-assurance were possessed by Comrades Bohumil Smeral, Antonin Zapotocky, Josef Haken, Josef Hybes, Karel Kreibich, Karol Schmidtke, Stepan Major, Frantisek Zupka and all those who stood at the front of the fight for the liberation of our country, after the example of Russian Bolsheviks.

A permanent place in the history of our party and our nations is taken forever by Klement Gottwald. For almost a quarter century he stood at the front of our party. His activity was firmly linked with the shaping of the CPCZ along Leninist principles, with the fight against the bourgeoisie and fascism, with the setting up of the people's socialist state. The victory of February 1948, the unification of the working class, the program and beginnings of the construction of socialism in our country are linked with his name. There is the permanent greed we have inherited from Victorious February: "With the Soviet Union Forever!" [applause]

The CPCZ is fulfilling its historic mission in a dignified manner. The source of the success of its policy lies in the fact that it is guided by the scientific world outlook, that it draws on the experience of the CPSU and other fraternal parties, that by its entire activities it has firm bonds with the working class and the working people. The party has always loyally defended the interests of the Czechoslovak people and has expressed their aspirations. Therein has been, is and will remain its strength.

That is the only way it could attain high prestige and the confidence of the working people and become the recognized leading force in our socialist society. The history of our party is at the same time a great struggle for the creative mastering and application of the ideals of Marxism-Leninism under the concrete historic conditions of our country. On many occasions it has been able to stand firmly against various manifestations of revisionism, rightwing opportunism and also sectarianism. Every weakening and violation of the Leninist principles, tested by life, has always brought us heavy losses and harm.

The most serious manifestation of this occurred in the second half of the sixties when there was a retreat from class positions, from a Marxist-Leninist political course, when ideological work was weakened, which enabled counterrevolutionary forces in 1968 to attack the leading role of the party, our friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and the very foundations of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

The defeat of the counterrevolution and overcoming the serious crisis-ridden situation by political means proved that the great majority of our people are true to socialism and support the party, which acts in a principled manner, has a clear revolutionary program and a firm and united leadership.

The successes which we have attained in the past 10 years in all spheres of social life are convincing proof of the correctness of the Leninist course on which our party, in the spirit of its entire revolutionary history, embarked at the April session of the Central Committee of our party in 1969. We shall always remain loyal to this course. [applause]

The CPCZ, from its very inception, has been a inseparable part of the international revolutionary movement. We are proud that V. I. Lenin, the leader of the international proletariat, the organizer of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the founder of the party of a new type, the party of Bolsheviks, stood at the cradle of our party. [applause]

Loyalty to Leninist principles, proletarian and socialist internationalism, fraternal cooperation and solidarity with the revolutionary workers' parties throughout the world are and will remain the fundamental principles governing the policy of our party. [applause]

The principles of proletarian internationalism have guided the party both in its relations with other communist parties and with individual national groups of the revolutionary proletariat in Czechoslovakia. This has had a profound influence on the process of its maturing as a truly Leninist party, a party of true patriots and internationalists in contrast to a bourgeois party. The CPCZ alone has been capable of working out a realistic program of solving the nationalities problems in our state and of translating it into reality. Unity and brotherhood between Czechs and Slovaks and all ethnic groups living in one common socialist fatherland found their expression in the federative arrangement of the state, which is a reliable foundation of the stability and development of the CSSR.

If we recall today the 60th anniversary of our party we can say with full justification that the birth of the party was one of the paramount events in the life of our people. Our people, under the leadership of the CPCZ, have attained historic victories. Socialism has become reality in our country and is developing successfully.

The working man is the free and sovereign master and manager of his country. Thus have been fulfilled the yearnings and dreams of the revolutionary fighters, the founders of our party. The liquidation of the rule of capitalism and the construction of socialism is the joint achievement of communists and noncommunists, millions of workers, farmers, members of the intelligentsia, of our all people. They all deserve our respect and gratitude. [applause]

We must never forget how much labor, effort and sacrifice it necessitated. To uphold the bequest of the revolutionaries and builders of socialism, to enrich it by honest work, is our highest duty and of those who will follow us. We will not allow anybody to divert us from this revolutionary path and to impair the great achievement of socialism. [applause] Looking back at our party during the last six decades, we are not doing so merely for the sake of reminiscence. We draw from the glorious history of the CPCZ both inspiration and strength for the solution of current tasks. Having learned lessons from the past, proceeding from the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism, filled with unshakeable faith in the victory of our ideals, we think of the future and we create.



Esteemed comrades! In the creation and implementation of its policy our party proceeds from the need and interests of the Czechoslovak people and from its historical experiences. By the national, democratic and socialist revolution, by the construction of socialism, we have contributed to the enrichment of revolutionary theory and practice. At the same time we do not forget that the cause of socialism and communism cannot be understood in a narrow national framework. We are proud of the fact that we are part of the great family of the international revolutionary movement. All that we do for the well-being of our people and of our homeland is done with an awareness of our internationalist responsibility. [applause] We hold dear the progressive traditions and the culture of our nations. It is from there that we draw strength and resolve. A source of lessons rests for us, too, in the experiences of other fraternal parties, especially the experiences of the CPSU, the most mature detachment of the revolutionary movement. They are for us a profound source of learning and motivation. The USSR by means of its pioneering work paves for mankind the road toward freedom and social progress. That is why the deliberations of Soviet Communists always draw the close attention of the entire world public. The recent 26th CPSU Congress was at the center of attention of all, friends and opponents. The congress demonstrated the strength and vitality of real socialism, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the cohesion of the Soviet society around the Leninist CPSU, its determination to pursue relentlessly the construction of communism and to wage a consistent, always consistent, struggle for peace. The prudence and the feelings of high responsibility for the fate of mankind permeate the report delivered by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev. [applause]

The entire international revolutionary and progressive movement has seen again the deep patriotism and internationalism of Soviet Communists. It is the Soviet Union which makes tremendous efforts to make sure that the world is protected from the catastrophe of a nuclear war, from the destruction of human civilization and culture. The 26th Congress confirmed again that peace and freedom of nations are the highest values for the Soviet Union and that the Soviet man links his happiness with the happiness of all mankind. Comrade Brezhnev said it from the congress platform, and I quote: "Our party, our people and all nations of the world have now no more important a task, from the international point of view, than defending peace. In pursuing peace we are not thinking only about the present or about our children and grandchildren. We are thinking about the happiness of many future generations." End quotation. [applause] The CPCZ, the Czechoslovak people, fully support this truly humane program. The 26th Congress confirmed again that the heritage of Lenin was in good hands, that the Soviet people loyally bear the flag of Leninism. The conclusions of the congress have been accepted by all progressive people of our planet as an aid in their fight. The 26th CPSU Congress enriched our understanding, gave us security and inspired us for our future activity in the development of an advanced socialist society. In firm unity with the Soviet Communists we shall march forward toward joint goals. [applause]

From our congress we are sending our combative comradely greetings to the CPSU and its Central Committee, headed by the faithful follower of the goals of Vladimir Ilich Lenin and great friend of our nations, outstanding representative of the international communist and workers' movement and tireless fighter for peace and progress in the world, Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, whom we welcome with such great pleasure at our congress. [prolonged applause]

Comrades! Allow me to deal now with the evaluation of the activity of the Central Committee and the entire party since the 15th Congress, with an assessment of the social development achieved and with the program for the years to come.

The firm foundations of the entire policy of the party we have firmly followed in the past years is in the general line of the construction of an advanced socialist society adopted at the 14th Congress and further detailed by the 15th CPCZ Congress. This line represents a comprehensive long term Marxist-Leninist program of the political, economic, social and spiritual development of our society, the program of the joint effort of the fraternal socialist countries. All the key tasks laid down by the 15th Congress were assessed and, in keeping with the specific conditions and needs, detailed and ensured at the sessions of the Central Committees and its bodies.

In the intercongress period the Central Committee met on 19 occasions. The Central Committee paid constant attention to the activity of the party, to the strengthening of its unity and action ability, to the application of Leninist methods and forms of work. We worked for the deepening of the socialist democracy, for improving the work of the socialist state, its bodies and the organizations of the National Front and for improving the quality of management in all spheres of life. The Central Committee followed very carefully the fulfillment of the directive for the economic and social development in the individual years of the Sixth 5-Year Plan. The Central Committee dealt with such important spheres as living standards, engineering, metallurgy, the building industry, trade and services, and adopted the necessary political-organizational measures. In doing this the Central Committee naturally had to respect also the new realities, both of an objective and subjective nature, and--according to the specific conditions and real situation--had to decide how to amend annual plans. We have been dealing comprehensively with the tasks of the ideological and political-educational work, with increasing the standards of education and levels of socialist culture and educational and cultural values. Great attention was paid by the Central Committee to the problems of international politics, defense and security of the state. An important role was played by the 11th session of the Central Committee held in March 1978 at which we assessed the work done in the 2 years since the 15th Congress. It has been confirmed how important constant checking and a timely analysis of problems were, together with the mobilization of the forces of the party and society for the solving of these questions.

The deliberations of the Central Committee, its Presidium and Secretariat have been marked by frankness, high principles and a critical and self-critical approach. The Central Committee has applied methods of critical demands proceeding from the principle of democratic centralism also in its relations with territorial bodies and organizations.

In the past 5 years, the Czechoslovak people under the leadership of the Communist Party have been successfully implementing the task of socialist construction, have multiplied the material and intellectual wealth of our country and have consolidated the socialist system.

Even though the overall dynamics of economic development were slower than anticipated in the Sixth 5-Year Plan, there was a further upsurge of our economy. Despite more complicated internal and external economic conditions since the 15th Congress, industrial and building production rose by 25 percent in the Sixth 5-Year Plan. Structural changes in our economy continued. The importance of engineering increased and its production rose by 36.5 percent in the period in question. Progress was achieved in the manufacture of data processing equipment. We developed basic engineering for nuclear power, and priority was also given to the development of other progressive branches. In accordance with the conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Congress production based on domestic raw material resources rose more rapidly, especially timber processing, the glass industry and ceramics and china.

There were major changes in the structure of the fuel and energy base. New capacities were created for the extraction of 15 million tons of coal per annum; new power stations with an output of 4,300 megawatts were commissioned and nuclear technology with a capacity of 880 megawatts was developed. This is the greatest increase in energy capacities ever achieved in our country in a 5-year period.

We made a successful contribution to the great common project of the CEMA states, the construction of the Soyuz pipeline. Major capacities in the chemical and metallurgical industries were built or expanded as well as in engineering, in the manufacture of building materials and in the food industry. The directive of the 15th Congress for the construction of the Prague metro was also fulfilled. Today Prague has a 20-km long, beautiful and modern underground.

The Prague-Brno-Bratislava highway was commissioned. The construction and extensive reconstruction of the transport network and of transport amenities have continued. A great deal was done for the construction of Prague and Bratislava. Special attention was given to the North Bohemia Region. And in every region and in every district much was done for the benefit of the people. Our cities and our villages have become more beautiful.

This Palace of Culture where our congress is meeting, too, was built between the 15th and 16th Congresses. We were convinced a long time ago that Prague deserved such a magnificent, modern cultural center. It is yet another memorial of our time of which all our citizens can be proud. [applause]

In agriculture too, significant tasks were fulfilled in the past period. We focused our attention especially on a better utilization of the resources--far from being entirely tapped--of large-scale socialist production in agriculture as well as on our ensurance of self-sufficiency in food which can be produced in our conditions. It was an important economic, but also socio-political, stabilization factor. The exacting nature of the task also lay in the small acreage of agricultural land per capita in our state.

In spite of some years with unfavorable weather, two in fact, agricultural production increased by 9 percent compared with the Fifth 5-Year Plan. In the course of the Sixth 5-Year Plan a total of 50.3 million tons of grain were produced. That was 3.5 million tons more than in the Fifth 5-Year Plan. In livestock production, the upward development of the past 5 years continued. The concentration, specialization and further industrialization of agricultural production was significantly intensified. The production base in agriculture was strengthened by new technical equipment and by the construction of new facilities. The unified agricultural cooperatives and state farms were joined by thousands of specialists with secondary and university education. The changes in the production base of agriculture and the growth of the standards of qualifications of workers are gradually altering the character of the work and life in our countryside.

The seventies also represent a considerable advance in the intensification in our participation in socialist economic integration. Our country shares in the development of selected raw materials projects of CEMA member states and in the development of specialization and coordination of production in many spheres. The long-term program of specialization and cooperation in production between Czechoslovakia and the USSR until 1990 plays an exceptional role in this respect. The all around cooperation with the USSR facilitates the smooth development of our national economy and the solution of vital questions of scientific and technical development. It helps to acquire top grade technology, raw materials, commodities and other goods. It ensures for our products an advantageous and stable market. This cooperation enables us to soften the unfavorable influences of the crisis developments in the capitalist world on our economy.

The general pointer showing how we worked, managed and created resources for the development of the national economy and for improving living standards lay in the creation of the national income and in the growth of labor productivity. In 1980 national income reached the figure of Kcs453.6 billion which is 20 percent more than in 1975. Compared with 1970 it rose by more than half. These results are not bad, but the planned rate of growth of the national income for 1976-80 has not been achieved. What are the causes? The implementation of the Sixth 5-Year Plan took place in very difficult and complicated conditions. It was a period which confronted us with obstacles and problems for which, as was revealed, our economy was not fully prepared. There continued to be rapid growth in prices of imported raw materials, energy, commodities and food. The discrimination against Czechoslovakia in the capitalist world and competition in world markets became more acute. This, naturally, had a negative influence on the fulfillment of our economic and social program. One of the main causes for not reaching all the set goals lay in the fact that, in spite of certain progress, it has not proved possible to assert the required turn in the fulfillment of the long-term strategic line aimed at raising the efficiency of production, savings and quality of all work, at making capital investment construction more effective and realistic, at the consistent application of science and practical research. To achieve this turn is the task which faces us with full urgency. It is, too, the basic precondition for ensuring the high living standards of the people.

In the Sixth 5-Year Plan, too, we continued to apply the social program mapped out by the 14th Congress even though we had to adapt the pace and scope of its implementation to the resources created. Social certainties are being further consolidated and living conditions of the citizens are improving. Personal and social consumption of the



population has increased. The proportion of households with an income in excess of Kcs 10,000 per annum for each member of the household today stands at 84 percent. The average nominal monthly wage of workers in the socialist sector, excluding the unified agricultural cooperatives, today amounts to Kcs 2,643, which is Kcs 339 more than in 1975.

The comparable remuneration of cooperative farmers tallies with the standard of average incomes of workers in other sectors of the economy. Notwithstanding various shortcomings and fluctuations, the domestic market has been expanding and becoming more varied. Sales of industrial consumer goods rose in 1980 by 21.2 percent compared with 1975; food items by 19 percent, of which 12.6 percent was in respect of meat and meat products. The caloric value of nutrition and quality of foodstuffs places Czechoslovakia in a leading place in the world.

We proceeded with a vast housing program. In the past 5 years 647,100 new apartments with modern amenities have been built, which is a total of 1,262,300 apartments since 1970. In the past 10 years virtually every fourth family has moved into a new home.

In Czechoslovakia there is comprehensive care for children, mothers and young married couples. This care has been further improving in the past few years. The funds spent on paid maternity leave, family allowances, loans to newly married couples and other achievements increased by 26.7 percent compared with 1975. We have, moreover, taken further steps toward improving old-age pensions and ensuring a contented old age for pensioners, including cooperative farmers.

Our society has spent Kcs868.4 billion on social security, sickness and old-age benefits and assistance to large families in 1980 which is almost one-third more than in 1975. The construction and modernization of universities, secondary and primary and nursery schools, creches, cultural, sports and leisure and other facilities has also continued.

All in all, one-fourth of the national revenue was spent in 1980 on education, culture, the health service and social care. Amenities for works catering have also improved; today roughly 42 percent of all working people take advantage of it. To this we must add roughly 70 percent of all infants, school children and students who take their meals in school establishments.

It would be possible to list many more examples testifying to the all around care for people in our socialist society. The attained level of living standards is high. Yet in our country, as distinct from capitalist countries, including the most advanced ones, the satisfaction of the needs of the population and their social certainties covers all strata, all social sections.

For the reasons I have already mentioned, the realization of the social program has not been easy, especially in recent years. We have had to limit some of our intentions and even abandon some. In the interest of the solution of some persistent economic problems we have been forced even to adopt certain adjustments of retail prices. In principle, however, we have followed the directive of the 15th Congress to maintain the stability of the general levels of the retail prices of those goods which satisfy the basic essential needs of the population. The results of our social policy are clearer in that we have achieved them in a situation when in the capitalist world the general crisis has deepened, inflation has grown, unemployment, life's insecurity and the impoverishment of the working people has been on the increase and when imperialism has sharpened international relations and stepped up the discriminatory policy against the countries of the socialist community. [applause]

Dear comrades, the 15th Congress laid down for us important tasks in the sphere of further improving the political system of socialism, deepening socialist democracy, developing educational standards and culture, ensuring the security of the state and strengthening the international position of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. In implementing these tasks we have seen to the further strengthening of the power of the working people, the further enhancement of the leading role of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party, so that the bond between the working class, cooperative farmers and intelligentsia has become strengthened and so the political-moral unity of our nations and nationalities and all Czechoslovak people has become deepened.



In the struggles for the implementation of the line of the party, the working class has further matured, acquired new experiences and, through its committed work and political activity, has proved that it is the true master of its country. Thus the following words of Karl Marx are being fulfilled: "The working class embodies the social mind and heart of all working people." From within the working class are coming workers most loyal to socialism and those who are most committed to it. Time and time again the working class is finding out that its place in society which it won in the process of socialist changes is firmly linked with the existence and strengthening of the leading role of its vanguard, the Communist Party. Our workers know best, therefore, that every attack against the Communist Party is directed against the working class and its fundamental interests, the interests of the working people. The all around development of our society after the 15th Congress has further deepened the process of rallying among the working class, cooperative farmers and intelligentsia. The unity and fraternal cooperation between the Czech and Slovak nations and all nationalities of our country has been deepened. We can say with justified pride that the task of overcoming the historically existing difference in the conditions of the economic, political and cultural life of our nations has been in principle fulfilled. Backward regions have disappeared in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. All this amounts to a firm socioeconomic basis of our socialist social system and socialist statehood.

Our National Front has passed through a great political school in fulfilling the line of the 15th Congress. The organizations affiliated to the National Front have made a significant contribution to the fact that the broadest strata of the people are identifying themselves with the policy of our party and are working selflessly for its implementation. The Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the Socialist Union of Youth, the Czechoslovak Union of Women, the Union of Cooperative Farmers, the Czechoslovak Union of Physical Culture, the organizations of our cooperative movement, the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association, the Union of Anti-Fascist Fighters, and other social and free-time organizations have been making an active contribution to the development of the creative initiative of their members, and have significantly helped with the fulfillment of the tasks of the Sixth 5-Year Plan and the electoral programs of the National Front.

Each one fulfills a specific mission. We can no longer imagine our social life without them. What meritorious work, for instance, is being done by SVAZARM [Union for Cooperation with the Army], the Czechoslovak Red Cross, the Union for Firefighting, the hunters, bee-keepers, gardeners, the small livestock breeders. What a humane mission is being fulfilled by the union of the disabled! We could go on speaking about other organizations. They all create substantial values. In their activities, personal inclinations and the needs of the citizens join with the interests of the society. They contribute by their activities to the deepening of the unity of the party and the people, to the socialist education of working people, to the strengthening of their pride in their socialist homeland.

We also value the important contribution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Slovak Revival Party and the Slovak Freedom Party to our common socialist labor.

During the period for which we are presenting accounts to the congress, a great deal of work has been carried out by the representative, governmental and executive bodies of the state. The Federal Assembly, the Czech and Slovak National Council, have contributed through their legislative and control activities to the development of socialist democracy. The passing of important laws strengthened the rights of citizens and their social certainties. The territorial bodies of state power and administration, the National Committees, also developed their activities. Through them, hundreds of thousands of citizens participate in the management of their communities, districts and regions. The National Committees significantly contributed to the economic, social and cultural development of the country. On the basis of the voluntary work of citizens, especially in the "z" ["Zvelebovani": embellishment] action. They contributed to the building of important facilities to improve the living environment, to embellish our towns and villages. Their duties were responsibly fulfilled by the national security corps and other sections of the Ministry of Interior, bodies of the Judiciary and Prosecutor's Offices. These bodies protect society from various antisocial and criminal elements.

The fact that our citizens can work in calm and peacefully enjoy the fruits of their work is also due to them.

The Central Committee and the socialist state have devoted great care to the Czechoslovak People's Army. We can assure the congress, the whole party and all our people that our army is a reliable defender of our borders and a firm component of the Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states. [applause]

Our People's Militias, which conscientiously fulfill their tasks, deserve appreciation. [applause]

[Speaking in a different tone of voice, as an aside:] I must be brief, otherwise it would last until the evening. I was giving just an outline.

The ideological, political-educational work of the party has an indisputable share in all the successes which our people have achieved under the leadership of the Communist Party. The main attention of the Central Committee, as instructed by the 15th Congress, was focused on the strengthening of the influence of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism on the life of the society, on the growth of the socialist awareness of working people so that each and every one of our citizens correctly understands the principles of the policy of our party and actively supports it. Proceeding from the lessons from the crisis-ridden development in the party and society after the 13th CPCZ Congress, we waged a consistent struggle against anticommunism, various types of bourgeois ideology, revisionism and rightist opportunism. On the whole, good results have been achieved in the development of the educational-schooling system. The cultural-political line of the party is being fulfilled in the creative stream of cultural and artistic activities. The rich fund of Czechoslovak culture has been enriched by new artistic values.

We can say without exaggeration that the majority of our people are vitally linking their life with socialism. They prove their attitude to our system, the policy of the party and their patriotism by selfless, honest work and civic involvement.

In all we have done we have had in mind not only our internal problems but also the struggle which the socialist countries are waging on an international level, the revolutionary, national liberation and democratic forces against imperialism working for peace and social progress. The development of our socialist society and our active participation in the struggle for peace and detente, for the interests of socialism, social progress and freedom of the peoples have further strengthened the authority of socialist Czechoslovakia and consolidated its international position.

Comrades, the results we have attained in fulfilling the line of the 15th Congress and which we are reviewing today are not negligible. There is not one single sphere where we did not make progress. In expressing recognition of the work of all who have had a share in these results it is necessary to highlight the role of the Communists, of primary organizations and bodies of the party.

Care for the party, the improvement of its activity, the growth of the activity of Communists was at the center of our attention. In the past years the party has experienced a positive development; the quality of its ranks has improved and it has consolidated its leading role in society. The Central Control and Auditing Commission has contributed to this development. The entire pre-congress period proved that the party is approaching its 16th Congress with ideological and organizational firmness, united, capable of acting and linked with the people. [applause]

An overall review of the work accomplished allows us to arrive at the conclusion that the road along which we have proceeded during the past period has been correct. We are submitting this positive review to the congress with the knowledge that our endeavor is accompanied by many shortcomings, difficulties which have been slowing down our advance, and that we have not attained the set targets everywhere.

The Central Committee does not overlook problems; it does not conceal shortcomings but takes the necessary measures toward their solution. It must be said, however, that these measures have not always been implemented and that appropriate disciplinary or

personnel sanctions have not been taken everywhere. We are justified in saying that the party, communists and party organizations have been the moving force of all social activity. But this does not mean that this holds good for every party organization, for all its members, that all have been fighting with equal consistency and devotion for the implementation of the party's decisions, against various misdemeanors which weaken our endeavors such as inertia, laziness, formalism, indifference, weaknesses in management as well as obsolete ideas in the minds of the people. All this has been openly and responsibly discussed at annual membership meetings, district and regional conferences as well as at the CPSL Congress. Such a constructive, principled approach, inherent in our Leninist party, is highly recognized by the Central Committee.

Comrades, despite many difficulties and obstacles which had to be overcome in implementing the program of the 15th Congress, we can state with full responsibility that the party and the people have been working with devotion. The long term line of building an advanced socialist society in our country, adopted by the 14th and elaborated by the 15th Congress, is being confirmed in practice as correct and realistic. The working people regard it as a program corresponding to their vital interests, a program which secures definite results as well as the security and sovereignty of our country in the family of the socialist community. There was no need to change anything in this political line, and we did not in the least retreat from it.

The general line for building an advanced socialist society remains in effect. Our immediate task is to provide the details and give it concrete meaning for the years to come. The material resources and the social and spiritual forces which we acquired in the process of socialist construction and enriched in the period since the 15th Congress are providing a reliable foundation for the further development of our society. The point is to strengthen this basis and use it as intensively as possible. We are not planning for planning's sake. We are not organizing production for production's sake. Everything we do, all our efforts to develop socialism in our country are aimed at benefitting the working people. The well-being of man is and shall remain the highest purpose of our efforts. The concept of the Main Guidelines for the Economic and Social Development of the CSSR for 1981-85 is based on this fundamental goal. In the Seventh 5-Year Plan we want to ensure a proportionate development of the national economy, to strengthen and modernize the material-technological foundation of our country, to achieve a broader application of science and technology in production and, in keeping with this, to maintain and improve the material and cultural standards of the people. We shall continue to strengthen the bond among the working class, the cooperative farmers and the intelligentsia, to bring our nations and nationalities together, to improve our activity through a deepening of socialist economic integration and to make a significant contribution to the cause of peace and socialism in the world.

The goals we pursue cannot be based solely on our wishes. We must see the starting point in what we already have, and it is necessary to use it as effectively and economically as possible. Above all, it is necessary to concentrate means on those areas which will help to solve our economic problems and which are decisive for the development of man and society. In doing this, we must continue to observe the development of the international situation, which is influencing our economy. The years we are entering will pose a number of problems. The policy of imperialism, which reflects the deepening general crisis of capitalism, contains serious dangers. Enormous efforts and great means are required and will be required even more to thwart these dangerous plans. The securing of the goals laid down in the Seventh 5-Year Plan requires a far more consistent implementation of the long-term economic strategy of great effectiveness in production and high quality in all work. The basis of this lies in directing the economy on to the path of intensive development, in making effective structural changes in the economy, in rationally exploiting the production potential, in greatly valorizing all resources, in improving management, in broadly developing the initiative of the working people, and in deepening our economy's participation in socialist economic integration and the international division of labour. Our results so far confirm that we have already taken certain steps along this path and have acquired valuable experiences. However, in view of our needs, no place is entitled to be self-satisfied. It is necessary to take far more decisive steps.



The draft of the Seventh 5-Year Plan anticipates a growth in the national income of 14-16 percent. The task is considerable even with a slower rate of growth in national income. Industrial production is to increase by 18-20 percent and agricultural production by about 10 percent in the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

The planned rate of growth in the national economy can be achieved through broad intensification of the economy, growth in the productivity of labor, lower consumption of materials and energy, and greater use of basic funds. Raw materials, other materials and energy sources—both domestic and foreign—must stay at the levels achieved at the end of the Sixth 5-Year Plan. This means that we must produce more goods and agricultural products from every single koruna, from every kilo of metal, oil and cement, and from every hectare of land; and we must do it with the existing labor and material resources. We must achieve a higher rate in generating national income. Scientific and technological progress is the decisive factor in intensification and the most powerful means of enhancing the productivity of social work. Effecting scientific-technological development is a truly revolutionary task for all of our society.

In the most progressive branches—electronics and micro-electronics—comprehensive mechanization and automation can be achieved solely on the basis of the application of science and technology, which also permits the elimination of strenuous physical work. We must expand progressive technology and improve management and the organization of work. We are deeply convinced that reaching these targets will become a matter of pride and civic responsibility for our researchers, for our engineers and for our entire scientific and technical intelligentsia.

The federal government and the national governments, the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences and all who are responsible for applying scientific and technical progress must ensure that the scientific and research base is in keeping with the requirements of social practice and with the principles of management. We are putting before them challenging and concrete tasks so that the creative efforts of scientific and research workers should not be directed merely toward meeting their individual interests but toward the requirements of society.

Decisive measures must be taken to increase the concentration of research and development capacities. We must not tolerate the scattering of forces and funds, but concentrate on the decisive trends of research, development and the introduction of new products. It is high time we realize that the maximum integration of science and production is now one of the most important requirements.

Moreover, we must end the state of affairs in which ministries and production units tolerate the fact that many of our enterprises fail to apply to production various scientific and technological findings even though the value of these for our national economy is evident. We must make sure that newly developed products that meet the criteria of low material and investment input and high use properties are manufactured promptly and in sufficient quantities for domestic and foreign markets. We must ensure that scientific and technical development become the pillar of economic plans. A high level of material incentive for creative workers in science and technology as well as for those who put the findings of science and technology into practice must be consistently linked with a high degree of moral recognition, support and popularization for all whose work constitutes an exceptional social contribution.

Our scientific and research base naturally cannot be isolated; it must continue to promote its cooperation with scientists and researchers in the CEMA countries, especially the Soviet Union.

We must establish discipline and proper order in investment policy. There is an old saying "twice measured is better than one bad cut," which applies here many times over. Investment construction must be realistic, made more effective and, in accordance with the requirements of scientific and technical development, must be subordinated more consistently to structural changes in the national economy. Circumstances compel us to ensure that the share of investments in the national revenue (?should be lower).



Investment policy must be oriented toward raising the effectiveness of the process of renewal, modernization and expanding the material and technical base in the productive and nonproductive spheres, the speedier liquidation of obsolete basic assets and inefficient production. This requires the concentration of the greatest part of funds on modernization and reconstruction. The federal government and the national governments, the Planning Commission and National Committees must under no circumstances tolerate an excessive scope of investments, the dissipation of resources and funds, and must not yield to various types of pressure. It is intolerable to invest where existing capacities are not being properly used now. It will be essential to restrict the scope of commencing new projects and to make radical progress in reducing the number of projects under construction. This will provide for the concentration of forces on timely construction preparation, better supplier-consumer provisions for investment projects and the commissioning of new projects within the planned deadlines and project specifications.

The changing conditions and requirements of capital investment building put great demands on our building industry, which must more promptly adapt the structure and the distribution of capacities to the territorial, specific and timely requirements of the investment process. It is still a predominant task to concentrate trade and develop construction capacities in places of intensive construction, in the North Bohemia Region, in Prague and Bratislava, to ensure more consistently tasks on the construction sites of nuclear power stations, on decisive projects and on the comprehensive equipping of housing estates.

This is not only an economic but also a very important political task of the builders, contractors, suppliers and National Committees. The fulfillment of tasks in capital investment building necessitates discipline and a responsible approach by all those taking part in it. The federal government and the national governments will have to take concrete, effective measures to improve the administration of investment policy and consistently to control their fulfillment.

Esteemed comrades: In the eighties, too, the solution of the fuel and energy problems will remain in the forefront of attention. We shall concentrate on the development of the domestic fuel and energy base, on the construction of the nuclear power industry and, above all, on the improved optimum processing of all types of fuel and energy. The concrete directions and targets of these efforts are determined by the approved program of rationalization of their consumption. In the current 5-year plan it will be necessary to achieve savings of at least 12 million tons of standard fuel. In view of the serious difficulties of the mining preparedness of the North Bohemia coal extracting area, it will be necessary to concentrate exceptional efforts by the government, relevant ministries, enterprises of heavy and electro-technical engineering industries as well as the management of the North Bohemia lignite mines for the fulfillment of coal extraction tasks by the pits.

It is necessary to approach them with the awareness that their solution has a decisive importance to providing the entire national economy with fuels. At the same time we must not reduce attention on the development of other coal mining areas, above all the Ostrava-Karvina area, which is decisive for meeting our requirements in coking coal. What is involved here is not only the supply of the necessary technical equipment and the construction of further mining capacities, but above all an improvement of the conditions of work of miners, the guaranteeing of the recruitment of new workers and the creation of conditions for a gradual reduction of work overtime.

The more difficult conditions for the procurement of not only fuel and energy resources but also of ores, ferrous and nonferrous metals make it necessary in the next period to emphasize primarily the qualitative aspects of the development of metallurgy, the assertion of basic changes in its structure, a turn in the utilization and optimum processing of metals and scrap in the entire national economy, in view of the significant reduction of the rate of quantitative growth. The mark of the advance of an economy is not only the amount of metal produced but, primarily, its optimum processing in production. That is a direction which must be asserted in the entire national economy.

The requirement that we achieve an average annual savings of 4 and 1/2 to 5 percent in metal during the Seventh 5-Year Plan is based on this. To achieve this a state rationalization plan has been adopted for the consumption of metals. As in the struggle for savings of fuels and energy, the effort to achieve savings and better valorization of ferrous and nonferrous metals must also become a concern of all managers, designers and technicians. We expect much from innovators and inventors, from the brigades of socialist labor, from the socialist competition, from the high commitment and initiative of the people.

Engineering will hold the key position in the development of the national economy during the Seventh 5-Year Plan and throughout the 1980's. In order to fulfill its purpose, engineering must meet certain conditions in its material-technological basis, in the qualification and experience of the technical and working cadres, in production and scientific research potential. All these aspects must be much better utilized. Our engineering has achieved many successes; however, in a number of spheres it lags behind rapid international developments. The point is that engineering must ensure, on a qualitatively higher level, the modernization of the production-technological basis of the economy, meet export targets and provide supplies to the home market. Above all, the further effective development of engineering requires a more purposeful shaping of its structure.

It is necessary to concentrate our means above all on the development of those branches and production lines which meet realistic conditions for achieving world standards and which, because they are highly effective, ensure decisive returns for both the home market and exports. At the same time we must much more decisively link our engineering with the international division of labor. In doing this the fulfillment of the Czechoslovak-Soviet long-term specialization and cooperation development program is of fundamental importance. The ministries of engineering, the relevant production-economic units, the management of enterprises and plants must adopt concrete measures for the development of the technological-economic growth of production, for a considerable shortening of the cycle of innovation, for high quality of all comprehensive and trade-technological services and for ensuring that the needs of the population are met. Much has been said at various meetings about the shortage of spare parts. We have heard sharp criticism again at the district and regional conferences. This problem is causing not only great economic losses but also serious political-moral damage. The Central Committee and its bodies will see to it that the federal government and all relevant bodies adopt measures that will considerably improve the situation in this sphere.

It is necessary to pay exceptional attention to the electrical engineering industry. We must see as the starting point that the development of electronics and microelectronics, the progressive nature of all their components, is decisive for the further technological transformation toward higher standards in all branches of the national economy and society.

The main tasks of the chemical industry will be the most effective utilization of the capacities built and the achievement of a higher level of valorization of manufactured products. We must pay more attention to the preferential development of small- and medium-scale chemical industry with a high proportion of qualified labor.

We shall pay exceptional attention to the consumer industry to make it capable of supplying a broad assortment of goods to the domestic market and to ensure that foreign trade needs are met. We shall continue to develop preferentially those branches that are based on domestic raw materials, especially the glass and pottery industries and the processing of timber.

We face the urgent task of expanding the collection and processing of secondary raw materials. In order to enable the national economy to function smoothly and effectively, we must attach greater importance to the further development and improvement of our transportation network. In working out a united state transportation policy we must give first priority to solving the questions of railway transportation.

Of the foremost importance is the demand for significant improvement of the quality of mass passenger transportation, meeting schedules and improving the quality of travel.

Comrades, we attach cardinal importance to ensuring a high standard of food for the people, increasing self-sufficiency in the production of foodstuffs and agricultural raw materials. In the coming years the expansion of the agricultural and food complex will remain the center of our attention. This is a long-term strategy of the line mapped out by the 14th and 15th CPCZ Congresses. It will be increasingly difficult and more demanding on our currency resources to import agricultural products and foodstuffs. That is why we must ensure the increased supplies of foodstuffs by our own production rather than by increasing imports.

The fundamental condition for raising agricultural production is its intensification and further industrialization, concentration and specialization. We must make more efficient use of the findings of science and technology and take full advantage of and master the not negligible reserves in production and processing. We shall focus our main attention on the more rapid development of crop production as the basic factor in increasing self-sufficiency. In addition to raising the production of grain—we expect to harvest 55 million tons in the Seventh 5-Year Plan—we consider it decisive, in view of our possibilities, to expand the manufacture of high quality bulk fodder and to increase the utilization of meadows and pastures.

Substantial improvements must be attained in growing potatoes and industrial crops, especially sugar beet. By raising actual production, with the participation of small-scale farmers, it will be possible to improve vegetable and fruit supplies and to reduce the high imports of all crops which can be grown in our country.

An essential condition for the development of crop production is care for the soil, an increase in its fertility as well as the systematic protection of the utilization of all agricultural land. To protect every acre of land, not to permit its waste—this is vitally important for the whole of society. We have a law to this effect and it must be observed. We anticipate further investments for the construction of irrigation and its improvement. There will be larger supplies of industrial fertilizer. There will have to be a simultaneous improvement in the utilization of all these methods.

In livestock production we shall devote great attention to the expansion of cattle breeding. We must, moreover, pay proper attention to raising sheep. Further help must be given to the promotion of cattle breeding on private, individual plots, by small-scale breeders and by individual contracts. The scientific and technical base must make a more decisive contribution to the expansion of agricultural production; the same applies to the organization of technical and biological services.

In the food industry we are placing emphasis on a higher utilization of agricultural raw materials, the high quality, durability as well as the final appearance of foodstuffs and the expansion of the production of semifinished foodstuffs and finished foods. But we must once again point out that in spite of the great availability of foodstuffs, we must combat wastefulness whether in public catering or in households.

The fulfillment of challenging tasks in agriculture and the food industry demands the reinforcement of their material and technical base. We expect that the total volume of investments will be roughly the same as in the Sixth 5-Year Plan. That is why we must show a more responsible approach to their utilization.

For the development of agriculture the supply branches and in particular engineering and the chemical industries are assuming ever greater significance. These branches must regard the fulfillment of their deliveries to the agricultural sector as their prime task.

In the agricultural sector and in the food industry, as in the whole of the national economy, it is essential to achieve a more effective employment of the means of production and of materials, promote true economies and apply consistently the principles of the accounting method within individual enterprises. Likewise, it is essential to encourage the economic incentive of enterprises in the growth of desirable production. In this respect it will be necessary to modify already in the course of



the current 5-year plan economic tools and improve planning as well as the system of remuneration for work and the management of the whole agricultural-food complex.

The individual ministries of agriculture and food and agricultural boards cannot ignore the fact that there still exist large differences in the results of agricultural enterprises operating under comparable conditions. They must take care to ensure that the process of intensification of the concentration and specialization of production within the framework of the optimal size of individual agricultural enterprises takes place as well as to ensure that coordination, especially on the use of agricultural machinery, is employed better.

We expect that the workers of unified agricultural cooperatives, state farms, enterprises providing services to the agricultural sector, the food industry, the supply branches, the appropriate responsible management workers, the party and trade union organizations and the union of cooperative farmers, by virtue of their approach imbued with initiative and with the active support of the whole society, will ensure that our high standard of nutrition is safeguarded.

External economic relations form an integral part of our economic policy. A broader incorporation of the Czechoslovak economy into the international division of labour is an objective necessity. The basis of this process is above all an all-round development of the mutually advantageous trade, economic, scientific and technological contacts within the framework of CEMA and the intensification of our participation in socialist economic integration.

Our all-round economic cooperation with the Soviet Union has an irreplaceable part to play. The fulfillment of the intentions of integration, embodied in the program of co-operation and specialization between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union for the period of up to 1990, is essential and special attention will therefore have to be paid to this task at all levels of management in the responsible ministries, production and economic units and enterprises. At the same time, it is necessary to improve the existing forms as well as to seek new possibilities for the development of direct contacts with the corresponding organizations of CEMA member countries.

We shall also strive to bring about a further expansion of mutually advantageous trade relations, long-term technical and production cooperation with the developing countries and, within the framework of our possibilities, we shall contribute to strengthening their economic and political independence.

We shall continue to develop our economic relations with the advanced capitalist countries on the principle of equality and mutual advantage. On this basis we want to expand other forms of economic, scientific and technical cooperation. The uneven development and contradictions within the world capitalist system will lead inevitably to the further aggravation of the struggle for raw materials and markets. We have to reckon with an even greater degree of competition, various obstacles in the trade and political sphere as well as with discrimination. For these very reasons it is essential to increase the export capabilities of the Czechoslovak economy, reduce demands on imports and to make a rational use of all our foreign exchange funds and to husband them properly.

Our production, especially our engineering production, must ensure the availability of goods with high technical and economic parameters and operational qualities as well as with high-quality servicing facilities. This necessitates a fundamental change in the thinking and attitudes of managerial workers and all working collectives in the sphere of production, scientific and technical development, capital investment building and foreign trade. In order to successfully master the exacting tasks in the national economy it is necessary to perfect the import and export activities of foreign trade. Foreign trade organizations must closely cooperate with production, much more actively play the role of an enterprising supplier and consumer and prevent competing imports and exports.



Esteemed comrades, all our efforts aim at the satisfaction of the needs of the person and his all-round development. The concern for people's material and cultural standards stems from the very essence of the socialist system. The development and perfecting of living standards are not, however, dependent on subjective wishes but on the creation of values. No society can distribute more than it has created. It is not possible to live for long on capital alone, and we do not wish, and refuse, to live on credit. The only possible way is to increase the creation of resources. What we create will have to be prudently distributed and utilized so that we purposefully ensure the development of the national economy, the entire social life and the defense of the homeland while satisfying people's requirements of people.

The construction of socialism and its development, the parallel satisfaction of our society's growing needs and our people's increased demands are logically reflected in the orientation toward the qualitative aspects of production and living standards. This orientation does not merely mean a growth of material consumption. It also comprises the strengthening of social certainties, the development of education, culture, the care for people's health, the security of the family, mothers and children, the constant improvement of the working and living environment, the creation of comradely relations in the working collective and between citizens, the shaping of the socialist way of life. It is from these points of view that we approach the concept of the development of living standards in the next period. We proceed from the giving possibilities of the national economy. Remuneration for work must be most closely linked with the growth of labor productivity, with the effectiveness, economics and quality of production. It is necessary to resolutely overcome egalitarian trends and various false so-called social approaches to remuneration. The living standards of every working man should correspond to his contribution to development for it is no secret that there are people who live at the cost of society, who receive wages not for work but for going to work. It is necessary to resolutely combat all types of parasitism and speculation. It is quite a serious problem. [The version of Husak's speech published in the 7 April Prague RUDE PRAVO deletes the previous sentence.]

The development of real monetary incomes is undoubtedly influenced by pricing policy. Under socialism, retail prices must not only fulfill their economic function but also be in harmony with the intentions of social policy. We have said that our national economy is sensitive to world economic developments. The permanent growth of prices and costs of acquiring raw materials, energy, fuels and foodstuffs is increasing the production costs of the manufacturing industries. To the necessary extent wholesale prices must reflect this so that they reduce the consumption of production materials. We shall continue to see to it that the growth of wholesale prices is not automatically passed on to retail prices. The development of retail prices will be very dependent on how we work and raise the productivity of labor, how we succeed in achieving effectiveness, quality and good economy. No one can afford for long to sell on the home market more cheaply than he is buying abroad and producing at home.

Pricing policy must continue to be firmly directed under strict state control; it must be consistent with wages and social policy and at the same time it must have the desired influence on the development of private consumption and prevent waste. We anticipate that the sales of industrial goods will grow faster than the sales of foodstuffs, that the demand for quality meat and more advanced goods will grow. This puts greater demands on the producers of consumer and food products and on domestic market organizations. They must actively respond to the needs of the people and consistently ensure smooth supplies. The production sphere and trade share the responsibility for producing and supplying the required variety, of goods of a quality and price in keeping with the demands of consumers. The responsible ministries, production and agricultural cooperatives and enterprises of local economies must take major measures to achieve this.

An important role of our socialist trade is to protect the interests of the consumers. This is connected with guaranteeing their rights against manufacturers. Trade and the National Committees must ensure this more consistently.

Exceptional attention must be paid to the development and quality of services. Every responsible worker must be aware that this is not only an economic but also a highly political question. Rightly or wrongly, citizens judge our social system according to the quality of their work and attitude toward the people. Even with limited means, social consumption will grow. Care for families with children will continue to be an important part of our social policy. The same goes for care for the old and invalids. Apart from the means afforded by the state. It is necessary to raise the contribution made by enterprises, plants and cooperatives to the broadening of children's facilities and social care services. To this end it is also necessary to utilize more effectively the means of the national committees.

In housing policy we face the demanding task of constructing 550,000 new apartments and 40,000-50,000 apartments which are under socialist ownership must be modernized. The federal and national governments, ministries of construction, the national committees, must deal more determinedly with the prolonged problem of failure to ensure comprehensive amenities in housing developments. They must see to it that buildings providing civic and technological amenities are built in coordination with the construction of housing developments.

We will deepen our care for the health of the people. The relevant bodies must pay still more attention to the quality of preventive, diagnostic, curative and rehabilitation medicine and the effectiveness of hygiene and antiepidemic measures. Our people believe that work in the health service is not easy and that it demands much of patience, understanding and sacrifice. However, citizens are justly embittered by various unnecessary shortcomings caused by poor organization and irresponsibility.

The governments and the ministries of health and the pharmaceutical industry must ensure smooth supplies of medicines and medical materials.

Environmental protection is indivisible from the raising of living standards. This includes purposeful care for the forests and efforts to limit the consequences of the effects of industrial effluent. The growing need for water requires close attention to the development and protection of water resources. It is necessary to prevent the deterioration of the existing level of water pollution. The responsible bodies must enforce stricter control and take steps against those who wilfully harm the environment through gross irresponsibility.

The preservation of fundamental environmental values—the wealth of nature and the beauty of our country—is the duty of all responsible bodies. It is the common affair of all our people.

Comrades, in accordance with the conclusions of the 15th party congress, the Central Committee and the federal government have approved a comprehensive set of measures for improving the planned management of the national economy. Its main purpose is to bring about an intensification of the economy, more decisive application of the results of the scientific and technological revolution, more effective encouragement to more effective and high-quality work, and optimum conditions for the all-round creative activity of people. That is the road to the better application of the advantages of a socialist economy, to the achievement of maximum indices in economic results in the interest of raising the material and cultural standards of the people.

The implementation of these measures requires profound changes in management methods as well as in people's thinking. In doing this, a primary role must be played by high-quality planning as the major factor in running the national economy. This will require application of democratic centralism in the formulation of the plan. The growth of the economy is accompanied by more and more complex relationships, and scientific and technological progress places qualitatively new demands on the management of the economy. It must be said clearly that planning activity has not been keeping pace with these changes.

Planning work must be improved. The quality of the plan must be improved to attain a greater degree of harmony in all economic activity. The management and organizational work of government and planning bodies, of ministries and other central bodies, of production units, of enterprises as well as of national committees must be subordinated to the greater demands being placed on planning. Planning bodies are confronted with a major task: to strengthen the long-term nature of planning and to develop long-term prospects for our economy. This must be the premise in developing 5-year plans, which we see as the main instruments in implementing our party's economic and social policy.

Establishing correct priorities in setting tasks and finding the most efficient way of securing their fulfillment will be of utmost importance. Sector ministries have the pressing tasks of completing work--in collaboration with production units--on strengthening the role of production units as important factors in the sphere of the enterprise economy, of ensuring the stabilization, simplification and higher efficiency of supplier-consumer relations: and of bringing research work closer to the concrete needs of economic practice.

Higher efficiency in management work also means the more energetic elimination of superfluous and redundant activities and bodies, the rationalization of working methods and the eradication of bureaucracy and paper work.

The plan is not and cannot be just a breaking down of tasks. It is a party program in the socioeconomic sphere. It is being approved by the Central Committee, the federal assembly, and the Czech and Slovak national councils. It is a law but at the same time it is a major instrument in the mobilization of the working people. Its fulfillment must be the intrinsic affair of all work teams and its targets must become the content of socialist competition. The participation of the working people in running production, in improving the working and living conditions of the people and in reinforcing the socialist attitude toward work--these are the essential conditions for implementing the plan.

The Central Committee will consistently control how the government bodies and the production units are ensuring that the measures are translated into practice. At the same time, it will take care to ensure that the party bodies and organizations and the communists in trade unions develop broad mass political work in support of implementing the measures in order to make sure that this set of measures becomes a binding line toward substantially improving the quality of management and of planning the national economy. Management workers at all levels must realize that the coming period will mercilessly test their political maturity, professional expertise and organizational abilities. We must consistently increase the responsibility of the leading officials for economic and financial results. We must demand that they not tolerate disorder, that they call to account and penalize in material terms anyone who devalues the work of people and who wastes common property. Differences between good and bad managers must be manifested more markedly in both the material and moral rewards of collectives and of individuals.

The foreman occupies an important position in production. It is necessary to create better conditions for foremen, to rid them of unnecessary paper work in order to enable them to better organize work and to lead people toward work discipline and toward the fulfillment of their tasks with initiative.

Control is an integral part of management. In this respect, great tasks are awaiting the party organizations which must make better use of their right to control. The Central Control and Auditing Commission as well as regional and district control and auditing commissions of the party must do likewise. We shall also place greater demands on the committees of people's control at all levels as well as on other control bodies.

We must be relentless in our struggle against shortcomings. On the other hand, it is essential to reward good results and to reward those who work conscientiously, with initiative and who are not afraid to take risks. Our party highly values such people. [applause] It knows that it can rely on them for they uphold the most honorable banner--the banner of labor. We thank them most sincerely from the platform of this congress. [applause]



Comrades, we face major questions not only concerning the economy but in deepening socialist social relations, in improving the political system and in promoting socialist democracy. The targets we are setting ourselves are considerable but we have all the conditions to attain them. We can rely on the advantages of the socialist system, the creative initiative, the devotion, determination and awareness of the working people.

The working class constitutes a huge reservoir of creative forces and talents. Its position in socialist social production destines it to play a decisive part in the process of a rapprochement of various classes and social groups, a rapprochement of town and countryside, and in physical and intellectual work. Only the working class, naturally linked with the social form of ownership, with socialism, is capable of uniting the interests of all the working people and of leading them to a classless society, the application of lofty ideals of socialism and communism. It is our cardinal duty to ensure that the working class as a whole should be well prepared for the fulfillment of these historical tasks, that its class awareness, discipline and collective spirit continue to develop, that its working and living conditions continue to improve. The promotion and application of the creative forces of the working class, expanding its participation in the running of production, in the political and social life of the country is, in our opinion, the fundamental prerequisite for the success of our socialist construction.

In the application of the Leninist cooperative plan, revolutionary transformations have taken place in our countryside, in the life of the entire country. A new class of cooperative farmers has come into being. This process, too, did not fail to be accompanied by suffering and difficulties but the party did not retreat from any obstacle. It has consistently fulfilled the directive of the ninth congress which stated that socialism cannot be created in our country without the transition of the countryside to socialism. That was the only way we were able to create firm foundations for the socialist system in our country. The traditional backwardness of the countryside has disappeared once and for all. The villages today are modern, with a cultural standard, attractive for young people and educated specialists. This is an immense victory which creates a major foundation for the future socioeconomic development of our socialist society. We are rightly proud of it. One of the most important tasks is the all-round consolidation and development of this great achievement.

Cooperative farmers identify with the ideology of the working class and they are deepening their close ties with the interests and needs of socialist society. In the years to come, too, everything will have to be done toward the all-round consolidation of the socialist character of this class and that its awareness should grow. The establishment of large production units and the rationalization of the management of agriculture does not result in weakening internal cooperative democracy but in its expansion.

The intelligentsia is playing a major role in all the progressive and revolutionary transformations of society which have radically changed the life of our people. It is closely linked with the working class and cooperative farmers from the ranks of which most of its members have emerged. They all share a common interest in the political, economic and cultural development of the country. The intelligentsia, too, cherishes the ideals of socialism and communism. The program of building a socialist society opens a vast scope of activity and assertion to our intelligentsia. But it also places great demands on all its sections, on the work of scientists, technicians, engineers, teachers, doctors, cultural workers and artists--leading workers in all spheres of social life.

We expect that they will offer their skills, knowledge and talents with even greater commitment in the cause of socialist development. The heritage of the past and imperative of the present is to deepen the bond between the working class, cooperative farmers and intelligentsia, to strengthen the unity and fraternal cooperation of our nations and nationalities; not to allow anybody to violate these bonds in any way; to see to it that our nations develop, come close and live in understanding.

The National Front plays an important role in the rapprochement of the classes and social groups of our society, in strengthening the international community of our nations and nationalities, in deepening the bonds between the party and the broadest strata of our people. We shall see to it that the National Front, as the political expression of the



unity of our nations and nationalities, continues to unify further the endeavor of communists, non-party members and members of other political parties in the socialist construction, to deepen their full and equal participation in the management and running of public affairs and to create good prerequisites for the use of the various interests of the citizens, their political rights and freedoms.

A firm and indivisible part of the political system of our society and an important political force in our country is the revolutionary trade union movement. Through the medium of the revolutionary trade unions the working people are participating in the management and running of state and social affairs. The trade unions are actively participating in the creation, realization and control of state policy, the preparation and fulfillment of national economic plans, and the management of activity at enterprises and plants. They are making a significant contribution to the economic, social and cultural development of society, to the all-round care for man, and to satisfying the interests and the protecting the rights of working people. In this sphere, trade unions, as the broadest mass organization of the working people and the working class, have their irreplaceable role. The work of trade unions is highly political and demands a sensitive and differentiated approach to people. Despite various shortcomings which occur in the activity of trade unions, we can say that on the whole they are carrying out a great and meritorious task. In the years to come, trade unions will face big problems and it will not be possible to drop the standards of their activity. We expect that their role and responsibility in shared decisionmaking and in ensuring the socio-economic development of society will grow. The care for raising the initiative and the socialist competition of the people will also be among the foremost tasks of the revolutionary trade union movement. To a great extent it will much depend on the trade unions on how the people's initiative will develop.

We must not allow the activity and selflessness of the working people to be devaluated by formalism, too much paperwork and shortcomings in the organization of work and management. We see various shambles, slipshod work, irresponsibility, and demonstrations of bureaucracy in many places. We fail to overcome with sufficient effectiveness egalitarianism in remuneration, there are many complaints about the shortage of labor force. But is there not much wasted time during working hours? Often it is caused by poor work organization and sometimes by poor work discipline. In the fight against these shortcomings trade unions will have to do a great deal of work, as well as improving the care for the working people, their socialist education and their work and life environment.

It remains a permanent task to continue strengthening and resolutely guarding the unity of our revolutionary trade unions. The socialist order, which embodies the youth of the current epoch, everyday pays attention to the young generation. Our party and the socialist state constantly create conditions for harmonious development of the young people. We want our young people be healthy, educated and well prepared for life. We want them to acquire all the wise, noble, honest and beautiful ideals of our people, to orientate themselves to all the progressive values created by mankind. Young people contribute a considerable share to the positive results of economy, science and culture. They are in the forefront in many spheres, including promoting new progressive work methods. Many young people successfully work in the management functions of the national economy, in social organization activities. They participate in managing towns and villages, they are active in supreme representative organs, they fulfill the responsible and honorable tasks of defending the socialist homeland and guarding public order.

Life, however, also presents its demands on the young generation, on its professional status, ideological maturity and moral steadfastness, its ability to cope with new tasks. We want the life of the young people to be rich and happy, to allow for entertainment, while at the same time containing deeds inherent to socialism.

To lead young people toward modesty, toward respect for work, to teach them that they cannot merely present demands, but that they must themselves contribute to joint labour--that is not moralizing but an indispensable part of education of the young people. We know very well that a conscientious attitude toward duty is not achieved merely by giving orders. But it does not arise spontaneously and automatically either. It can only be achieved through patient and constant education in which a very important role is played not only by what we tell the young people but above all by our own actions inside the family, at schools and workplaces, as well as in civil life.

Young people have their organization, the Socialist Youth Union. At the same time, however, they are also active in the other organizations of the National Front, in all the links of the political system. The Socialist Youth Union is a recognized representative organ of the young generation, a close combat ally of the party. The work of the Socialist Youth Union and its pioneer organization must, in the future, also be given care by the party organs and organizations. Various groups of the young people--young workers, farmers, students and apprentices--have their specific problems. The Socialist Youth Union must take this into account and must see to it that the activities of its organizations be attractive so that it may become a deserving representative of the younger generation.

We also encounter marginal, negative phenomena among some young people. The Socialist Youth Union must pay attention to this.

The healthy development of the younger generation will, in the future, also be in the forefront of the attention of the communists, of party and social organs and organizations, of our entire state. We will take care that participation by young people in cocreating our future path and in implementing and controlling the grand tasks of building advanced socialist society may grow.

The issue--and we must bear this constantly in mind--is to ensure that our youth are conscious of their responsibility to the future, that they manifest their love for their native land through their useful work for socialism, that they combine their profound sentiments of socialist patriotism with proletarian internationalism and that they be prepared to build and defend their socialist homeland. The party believes in the strength and capabilities of the younger generation and will see to it that responsible tasks are entrusted to young people.

Our appreciation and respect also goes to our women for their noble mission as mothers and for their irreplaceable role in the upbringing of children, for their exemplary working successes and their active participation in public life. The Czechoslovak Women's Union has performed meritorious service in this area. The equal position of women in our society is one of the generally recognized gains of socialism. But even this principle does not find application in life on its own. Here, too, it is necessary to overcome various outdated attitudes and to strengthen the social position of women. A great deal has already been done to enable women to devote themselves better both to their families and to their work for society. Nonetheless, there are still several shortcomings, especially in the services, the trade network and transportation, shortcomings that cause vexation especially to the lives of women and which will have to be eliminated energetically by the relevant bodies and organizations.

The Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association has an important mission to fulfill. Helping the development and deepening the indestructable friendship and cooperation between our nations and the fraternal Soviet people, deepening our knowledge about the life of Soviet man in all areas of social activity rank among its foremost tasks.

Physical training and sport are becoming an integral part of an ever growing number of citizens'. In the interest of strengthening the health and physical fitness of man, of shaping his moral and ideological features, it is necessary to continue to develop mass physical training, sport, paramilitary activity and tourism. Our socialist society also expends significant means on top-level sport. It therefore expects that the sports results attained will correspond to these favorable conditions and that Czechoslovak sportsmen will always represent their socialist homeland in a dignified way and with an awareness of their highest responsibility.

The party will take care to ensure that every organization of the National Front has a broad field in which to operate, to enable it to deepen its special mission within society and thus contribute its share, as best as possible, to the common cause of socialism and the satisfaction of the interests of our people.

Esteemed comrades. The National Front and the organizations associated in it, the national committees, the legislative bodies, the executive bodies of the state, the whole of our administrative system, as well as our educational and information system

represent a broad base from which to deepen our socialist democracy. We see the purpose and content of democracy in the ever broader participation of our people in the administration of the country, in tackling state and social affairs, in everyday decisionmaking concerning the affairs of plants, villages and towns. We will deepen and defend this real democracy, the democracy of the working masses. We will develop socialist democracy in the unity of both its aspects--in the application of the rights as well as in the fulfillment of the duties of citizens towards society. Only under such preconditions can the social organism develop as a harmonic whole, enhance the creative activity of people for the realization of common goals. We must support everything that encourages creative activity and initiative by citizens and not tolerate a situation in which people who want to tackle problems meet with a lack of understanding and bureaucratic indifference. For the development of socialist democracy, of people's activity and initiative, it is important to create a broad platform for an exchange of views and for the development of constructive criticism.

We must see to it that relevant bodies always react to people's suggestions, that criticized shortcomings are resolved and the public kept informed.

An important role in strengthening the people's power in the further development of socialism is to be played by representative bodies. National committees are the principal link in relations with citizens, a true school of socialist democracy. Hundreds of thousands of deputies and activists work there in a selfless manner. The tasks of economic and social development necessitate a substantial increase in the effectiveness of the work of national committees, especially in the implementation of the comprehensive economic and social development of territorial areas. What is involved, above all, is that the national committees should better utilize their own material and financial resources in fulfilling tasks of the entire society and in satisfying the needs of citizens, that they should better influence the effective utilization of the workforce, the effectiveness of capital investment building and the economizing of all means that are expended. We consider as necessary for national committees to expand and improve the quality of services, for them to, in all ways, meet the needs of the population, of housing, of supplies, of transportation, of public order, for them to see to the cleanliness and good appearance of towns and villages, for them to even more actively contribute to the education of citizens, to give satisfaction to the life of people.

It proves necessary to strengthen the authority of national committees in towns, in central communities and housing developments. We will further perfect the system of management of national committees, see to it that the governments of republics do not permit a restriction of their authority, that they directly coordinate the activities of ministries in relation to national committees more effectively than in the past. There is to be greater control of the fulfillment of tasks set by the state plan and observance of socialist legality in the work of national committees.

The Federal Assembly and the Czech and Slovak national councils play an irreplaceable role in perfecting the socialist statehood, in deepening legislative activities and in strengthening the legal base of social life. The role of these bodies is to be enhanced further. It will be useful if the legislative bodies concern themselves more with social control of the state economic and social policy and see to it that their recommendations, addressed to the executive bodies of the state, are observed.

The elections to representative bodies, which are to take place on 5 and 6 June, will be an important political event. We are convinced that they will become an expression of the trust of citizens in the policy of the party and the National Front, in the program of the 16th congress and a mobilizing factor in the further development of activities of our people.

In the development of the federal state system, we stress the perfecting of the directing and coordinating role of the federal government and growth in the participation of the governments of the two republics in ensuring the needs of the entire society. This is the way to further strengthen our federation.



The governments should see to it that central management assists in a greater degree for the development of creative initiatives of economic organizations and of national committees.

The growing demands on the management of economic and social development necessitate a substantial improvement of the methods and style of work of the administration of the state. Here too a high personal responsibility, a party, committee, and creative attitude by every worker applies. It is necessary for the apparatus of the state to operate in a qualified manner, with full familiarity of the matter, and with a high political responsibility.

Some measures have been passed to reduce and simplify administration. In truth, the state administration did not make much progress in the fulfillment of this task.

The large numbers of directives and regulations, various reports, papers, often of a low standard and constituting a quality of functions, devalue the effectiveness of administration, weaken human work and unnecessarily draw off a large portion of labor energy. What does this illustrate, comrades? It illustrates that existing measures are inadequate. A more effective medicine will have to be found to combat this disease. [applause]

The state apparatus has the important duty of ensuring the observance of socialist legality. Our laws are the reflection of the will of the people. They protect the rights and interests of citizens as well as our social system. To cultivate respect of the law and legality, to consolidate the socialist legal awareness of citizens--these are some of the primary duties of mass organizations, schools, the family and the socialist state.

Our security and other armed formations of the Ministry of Interior, the prosecutor's offices and courts have their significant duties. In the future, too, their sacrosanct duty will be to protect our system with vigilance and responsibility as well as socialist ownership, public order, the rights and liberties of citizens, the security of our republic and the inviolability of our borders. [applause]

Another one of our most significant tasks is the consolidation and increase of the defense capacity of our country. We shall continue building our Czechoslovak People's Army as an inseparable component of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact states. We shall spare no energy or resources in making our army a most modern army, completely devoted to the party and people, capable of defending peace and the achievements of socialism together with the Soviet Army and the armies of the other Warsaw Pact states. [applause]

Units of the people's militia have become a permanent component of the defense formations. The party will make sure that in the future, too, they will fulfill their duties well. [applause]

Comrades, the great and complex tasks which we are setting ourselves in developing a socialist society will be mastered if the party, in accordance with new requirements, will proceed with its political-educational, ideological work, if socialist awareness will continue to be reinforced as well as the standard of education and cultural maturity of the working people. The entire history of revolution, of building socialism provides adequate examples demonstrating that a person armed with Marxism-Leninism, profoundly convinced of and inspired by work for socialism will never surrender to obstacles, does not lose his certainties even in the most difficult situation and is not afraid of waging a struggle for socialist ideals.

Our party is aware of the significance of ideological work for the consolidation of its alliance with the masses, winning the working people in favor of its policy. The awareness of people is an immense creative force which is capable of mobilizing society for the solution of even the most complicated tasks. Life again proves the validity of Lenin's dictum that a socialist state is strong by the awareness of the masses.



The purpose of all mass-educational work is to shape an all-round developing personality of man, shape his thinking and feelings in the spirit of our socialist ideals, moral standards and values of life to provide for a complete development of the loftiest features in his personality as a master and creator of a new policy. Nothing is as demanding and complicated as the education of man.

Every demonstration of formalism and every simplification is doubly damaging in this sphere. The shaping of the socialist awareness of man, which includes the ideological, moral and work education, takes place in a many-faceted process of socialist construction. At the same time we cannot be blind to the fact that we are building socialism, a new society, in the conditions of a merciless fight of two conflicting social systems, two hostile ideologies. No one can avoid this reality. It thus remains the basic imperative of all our ideological activity to lead people to vigilance and intolerance to the bourgeois ideology. It is our permanent task to wage a principled fight against rightwing opportunism and all kinds of revisionism, against the various demonstrations of petty bourgeois mentality and outdated ideas in the thinking of the people. An important part of this ideological education is scientific atheistic education.

In the center of the international ideological struggle are now the questions of real socialism, its class substance and role in the fight for peaceful coexistence, its historical advantage over capitalism. The application of the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence and detente demands the stepping up of resistance to the anticommunist campaigns of imperialism, its attempts to destabilize the countries of real socialism. The attempts of the imperialist centers to misuse nationality problems and national differences for dividing socialist countries must lead up to paying greater attention to the fight against all demonstrations of nationalism and anti-Sovietism.

Both the internal and external conditions require incessant deepening of the patriotic and internationalist awareness, the determination to build and defend not only one's own country but also socialism and progress in the world. The degree to which man in our country is able to understand the extent and complexity of the problems our society has to solve, how he manages to find his way in world developments, determines his contribution to society and also the strength of his zeal with which he fights for the ideals of socialism. Such a man must find satisfaction and full self-realization in his committed activity devoted to his work collective, enterprise, his village and socialist country. The workers of the ideological front must be aware that ideological work does not tolerate cliches. It must be of a lively and creative nature, it must win over both the mind and heart of man.

The mass media represent a significant tool in the ideological work of the party. The maturity of our citizens, the growth of the human factor in the social development, the dynamism of the social changes at home and in the world, the sharpening of the ideological fight on the international scale--all this requires that we considerably increase the standards, the political-organizational and educational role, and the social effectiveness of the press, radio and television. It will continue to be the main task of the mass media to arm the broad public with clear viewpoints on the basic questions of the internal and foreign policy. The media must be of high political and professional standards to show the long-term prospects of the socialist construction, to explain truly and from Marxist-Leninist positions the basic trends of the development of our society and to generalize the experiences of the masses. They must also openly explain the causes of difficulties and shortcomings and show the path to their rectification.

The work of radio and television deserves particular attention. The better they satisfy the need and interest of our citizens in giving competent information, professional commentaries, good quality artistic experiences, and good entertainment, the greater will be their contribution to the growth of socialist awareness and the shaping of the socialist way of life.

To contribute as much as possible to the understanding of the congress line, to the tasks we are now proposing and to the mobilization of the entire society for their consistent implementation--this is the foremost duty of the press, radio and television, all propaganda and information media. Spreading the truth about realistic socialism, about the

viability, the transforming power and growth of the influence of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism must be the center of gravity of their work. It is even more necessary to actively and strongly uncover and refute the lies of hostile propaganda which is continuing its attempts to blacken the historical achievements and the ties of alliance of our people. The communication media, just as our entire political educational work, must more resolutely rid themselves of the residues of formalism, empty phrases, stereotyped and simplified approaches. Our party and society will continue to create the conditions for the communication media to be able to fulfill demanding tasks. What is involved, above all, is a systematic increase of political and ideological education, a professional and specialist level of journalism, and improving the system of their selection, training and education. The Czechoslovak Union of Journalists has also a considerable share of responsibility in this sphere. We will also keep in mind further development and modernization of the material technological basis of the communication media.

Constant attention will be given to education. Socialist schooling must give children and young people a good foundation of general and professional education. It must awaken in them the desire for knowledge; it must systematically and efficiently formulate the ideological, political, moral and professional profile and grounding of students, to cultivate in them respect for values, created for generations, as well as love for their homeland and internationalist feeling. The ability to work hard, a rich emotional life, a sense of collective, of duty, straightforward and honest behavior, the intense will and interest to take part in the development and defense of the socialist society—these are the qualities which education helps to impart in young people for their entire lives. Effort in schools must be directed toward gradually creating and developing in every young person, relative to their age and physical abilities, a positive attitude toward work and a desire for their own creativity. We will see to it that the polytechnical character of our schools is developed.

We must continue to exercise great care in promoting the growth of the standard of secondary education. We will pay extra attention to the work of secondary specialist training institutes and to educating young qualified workers. Ministries, production units, cooperatives, national committees, must consider education as one of their foremost tasks.

Demands on the work of universities are growing markedly. Ministries of education, as well as heads of the universities, must constantly bear in mind the fact that it is above all the standard of the pedagogues which determines how each university fulfills its mission, what its authority and weight is. The authority of a university teacher is based on his professional erudition, his immediate participation in social life, on the work with the students, on cultivating their professional and political moral growth. These are high demands. But they must not be relaxed. It is very important that secondary schools and universities send out graduates who are well prepared, both professionally and politically, for practical life, who are capable of introducing the results of science and technology into production, who advocate all that is progressive, all that determines further development of our country. Education contains great riches for our society which we must use more effectively.

All the levels of our educational system have the necessary political, cadre, professional and material prerequisites to fulfill their mission. We will strive for the authority of education in our society to continue to grow and for the work of teachers to meet with full support. We are convinced that our teachers, and all those who work in and cooperate with education, will with great responsibility, understanding and conscience fulfill the tasks assigned to education.

Science has a significant place in the life of our society. I have already mentioned scientific and technological development and particularly its application in production. It is however necessary to return to the question of science from a broader point of view. Justly, we appreciate the results achieved by natural, technical and social sciences. They are the outcome of selfless work by our scientists.

International cooperation in sciences, and in particular with Soviet scientists, has brought significant successes. In this connection, we can at least recall cosmic and nuclear research, research into molecular genetics and the theoretical generalization of the experiences from the struggle for real socialism.

Despite undoubted successes it is necessary to say that this development and the utilization of sciences does not correspond to the needs and possibilities they enjoy. Too little has so far been accomplished in concentrating forces on tackling the key issues of the development of our society. It is necessary to orient scientific research more resolutely on acquiring new resources to secure our energy needs, on a better utilization of our raw material base, the optimal utilization of production materials, on a wider application of electronics, cybernetics and robots in the industry, on research into biological technologies, on raising the fertility of soil and the utility value of farm animals, as well as on the protection of the environment.

Ranking among the most important tasks in the field of social sciences in the next 5 year period will be topical issues of building an advanced socialist society in Czechoslovakia. The development of social sciences, and certainly the development of others, too, will not be accomplished without creative discussions, a critical atmosphere, without bold efforts and in particular without a principled party-minded approach. Practice shows that it is highly necessary to reexamine the existing system of directing sciences and technology and to work out a system which will ensure a uniform, state-wide scientific and scientific-technological policy, leading to the essential deepening of links between science and production and raising to a higher level our scientific and technological base.

Culture and art play an invaluable role in our life. The socialist revolution has made cultural and artistic values widely accessible to the working people and has created new and unprecedented favorable conditions for the development of culture and art. In its cultural policy, the CPCZ strives to promote a systematic growth of the social role of art, which has as its mission to enrich the broadest strata of the working people by real values, to strengthen the positive attitude of citizens to the ideals of socialism and communism and enhance the socialist way of life to form an integral part of their life, and to help promote the development of cultural and social activity of people.

We support and shall continue to support creative artistic endeavors, imbued by communist party-mindedness, which reacts to the main issues of the present fight for socialist morality, depicts the man of our days in his struggle and working endeavor and educates him in the spirit of patriotism and internationalism. Art of such quality can grow only out of firm links between artists and the life of people, out of the awareness of their joint civic responsibility. Our party will also devote its attention in the future to promoting cohesion within the ranks of the artistic front and to give all around help to the creative application of socialist realism in all its rich forms.

In this effort, artistic unions are to play a significant role. We expect that they will continue to contribute to the development of ideologically and artistically highly distinguished creative works. Every artist who is trying truthfully to depict the many faceted life of our people, everything new that is born in it, who gives honestly his capabilities in his service to socialism, will have our support in the development and application of his talent. We cannot, however, tolerate anything that harms socialist art and society, which varies with the ideals of socialist humanism. We shall not permit anyone to blacken the accomplishments of our people, their revolutionary past and socialist present.

High demands must also be placed on critical reviews of works of art. The artistic unions, the ministries of culture must give greater care to the young creative generation, its political and artistic growth. But what is important is to make sure that its search for individual artistic expression should not be guided merely by a longing for originality but above all by a feeling of social responsibility to our people.



In our socialist culture an important place and all around assistance will be given to fulfilling its internationalist duties. One of its tasks is to contribute to the reinforcement of fraternal ties with the countries of the socialist community, to contribute the unique values of our culture to the promotion of peaceful cooperation between all peoples, to disseminate the truth about current socialism.

Comrades, we are setting ourselves bold, and by no means easy, tasks. There can be no doubt that communists will be in the front ranks of the struggle for their implementation. The party represents the honor and mind of our society. To look after the party, to continue reinforcing its Marxist-Leninist unity and its ability to act, to promote and give a correct orientation to creative energy of the great army of communists—all that is the expression of maximum responsibility for the future development of socialism, for the future of our people. Quoting Klement Gottwald, it is a task of all tasks which we must not abandon even for one moment.

On 1 January of this year the CPCZ had 1,538,179 members and candidate members, who are organized in 45,564 primary organizations. The membership base has risen since the last congress. The CPCZ has admitted 321,000 new candidate members. Of these, 61 percent are workers, 7.8 percent cooperative farmers and 22.1 percent members of the intelligentsia. Of the total number of admitted candidate members, more than 90 percent are young people under the age of 35 years. The average membership age has dropped from 46 to 44 years. The proportion of working people coming from material production is rising. The worker-core of the party is being reinforced. The proportion of women has risen to 27.5 percent.

In the coming period, too, we will expand the ranks of the party by foremost workers, cooperative farmers and members of the intelligentsia, by those who can be an example in their work and personal life and who can commit themselves in public political work. In future, too, we shall guide the process of raising the quality of the membership of the party in a comprehensive and purposeful manner, and adjust its social and age composition. This must be an inseparable part of the everyday work of party organizations. This requires greater activity by work teams, their getting to know people and, on the basis of their political, work and ethical qualities, preparing them to be admitted as candidate members of the party. We expect a great deal of initiative from the organizations of the Socialist Union of Youth in this respect and from communists in the trade unions.

The fact that more than 40 percent of the membership is made up of those who have been admitted to the party during the past 10 years multiplies the demands on the quality of political and educational work, especially by district committees and party organizations. Hand in hand with deepening politico-ideological education, more must be done to ensure that young communists develop in the process of fulfilling positive tasks and in restraining their convictions in the struggle for the party's policy.

The exchange of party cards has played a significant role in raising party activity, in reinforcing awareness of the responsibility of communists and the high demands placed on the work of party organizations.

In the course of the interviews, the membership of 12,814 people was terminated. In order to successfully fulfill the tasks we shall be proposing for the forthcoming period, it is necessary to improve political-organizational and ideological-educational activity, to improve the quality of cadre work, and to intensify the leading role of the party. Logically, in the process of socialist construction, this role is developing. The party's leading role is being intensified, because the party acts as a true vanguard of the working class and the broad masses; because it consistently observes Marxist-Leninist teaching, and, on its basis, unifies the masses for the construction of socialism and communism, and, as communists, selflessly and in an exemplary way fighting everywhere for the program of the party, and because they strengthen the unity of the party and people. An important prerequisite for the party to exercise its leading role is in a consistent application of the basic principles of the party's organizational structure and activity, and the democratic centralism and interparty democracy in the work of all party bodies and organizations. It is necessary, in a determined way, to overcome the lack of consistency and sluggishness in fulfilling resolutions, and in tolerance toward



those who fail to observe the party regulations. A responsible role is played by the Central Control and Auditing Commission and the commissions at lower levels of the party structure. These bodies should contribute still more to the fulfillment of party resolutions, and to strengthening the unity of the party and party discipline. It is necessary to improve the quality of the information system at all levels.

We need true and objective information which does not cover up shortcomings and does not distort reality. Information which is not objective and complete, information which is doctored so that an enterprise, district or region does not appear in a bad light, only brings damage. Nor does it allow the adoption of the correct decisions and effective measures.

Party bodies and organizations must in all ways master the method of critical analysis, of basing their conclusions on exact and tested facts, and on a deep knowledge of the social reality. For the development of the activity of communists, for a healthy development of the party and society, the consistent application of the method of criticism and self-criticism is of fundamental importance. Where criticism and self-criticism is lacking, no good atmosphere for a businesslike and principled assessment of problems is to be found, and in such places there is no initiative for the solution of tasks, and shortcomings cannot be effectively eliminated.

The importance of criticism and self-criticism and the need to create prerequisites for their development has been mentioned many times and it could seem that there is nothing to be added to that. Alas, this is still a serious problem in practice. There is still enough justified criticism regarding various shortcomings, disorders, poor-quality goods, dishonest behavior and misuse of authority. We do not mean the so-called professional critics, or those who cannot find anything positive in socialism and who frequently hide their faces behind an anonymous letter. We mean honest people who mention true and socially serious criticism and who are sincerely interested in contributing to the good things. However, there are still those who take no notice of any criticism, who--as we say--have thick skins, and to whom self-criticism is an unknown thing. It is entirely inadmissible to suppress criticism or hide behind it. Such a state cannot be tolerated by party organizations and bodies. The communist answer to correct criticism is to ensure a remedy. In this we see the way toward the further strengthening of the healthy stream of the initiative and activity of the people.

More than 45,000 primary party organizations represent an immense force which is in daily contact with the broad sections of the people. The effectiveness of the work and authority of each primary organization is growing as it explains and consistently implements the policy of the party. The deepening of direct contacts with primary organizations, to unite and orient them in decisive tasks, must be the main content of the activity of party district committees. Fewer directives, less bureaucracy, more direct contacts with people--this must hold good in party work as well.

Against this background, demands placed on the quality of the work of the party apparatus are increasing, too, on its political maturity, performance, concepts, revolutionary enthusiasm and devotion. Much depends on the party apparatus, on how well party decisions are being prepared and fulfilled and how the Leninist style of work is being implemented throughout the whole party. The strength of the Leninist style lies above all in systematic work with people. One must know people's views, approach their problems and needs in a sensitive manner, systematically explain the policy of the party, convince and win people for its implementation and generalize its experience--these must be the characteristic features of the work of every official and of every responsible worker.

The ideological training of the members and candidate members of the party requires constant attention. Every communist must feel a profound attachment to the ideals of Marxism-Leninism. He must have a firm internal conviction and refuse to tolerate shortcomings, and must have party militancy. Party education has an important role to play in all these--the system of party schools. The standard of Marxist-Leninist education must also be improved so that its content, form and methods should be in keeping with the requirements of building an advanced socialist society. To ensure this, party

schools at all levels must link theory and practice in a well-considered manner. Throughout our political education we must draw on the works by the founders of scientific socialism, especially V. I. Lenin.

All levels of party bodies must pay exceptional importance to the political-ideological arming of the party aktiv so that the party should have an increasing number of qualified and experienced lecturers, propagandists and agitators. All questions which people may come across must be answered directly without evasion. Our recognition goes to the tens of thousands of lecturers and propagandists, agitators, and rapporteurs who are selflessly doing a great job of work in explaining the policy of the party. This work must be organized and utilized even better.

In order to expand mass-political work it is important to improve political agitation especially personal agitation, which is among the major tasks of every party member. In this type of work greater knowledge must be displayed, along with promptness, boldness, patience and a differentiated approach.

In visual agitation it is necessary to overcome formalism and inertia and to ensure a higher degree of convincingness. In the political and ideological education of communists, of our citizens, a key role is played by the journal of the CPCZ Central Committee, RUDE PRAVO. We are likewise anxious that it should continue to raise its standards and the depth of its arguments. Its pages must always make it clear what our domestic and foreign policies are, and what objectives, principles and tasks we are pursuing.

The Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPCZ Central Committee is also facing challenging tasks, as is the Political High School of the CPCZ Central Committee. Both these institutions hold great responsibility for the training of cadres and the creative elaboration of Marxist-Leninist science, including convincing work on socialist construction.

It is moreover important to intensify the unity of the ideological, theoretical, political-education, organizational and economic work of the party. Ideological work must be better coordinated and its planning must be reinforced as well as its purposefulness.

Coming to the forefront is the demand to raise further the level of cadre work. We must achieve a state of affairs in which management cadres at all levels keep pace with new tasks, and master the tasks contained in the party policy and ensure their implementation. We realize daily how important it is for leading officials to be distinguished by their high political, specialist and moral qualities, by class-based attitudes to social phenomena, by their internationalism so that they can be good organizers and demanding both of themselves and others and enjoy respect.

The authority of a leading official is a big asset to the party and socialist society. One cannot put it at risk. This must be realized by every official, his close colleagues and particularly those who proposed him for the office and approve of his appointment. The coming period will further increase demands on leading cadres, on their capabilities to manage, mobilize, train and organize working people towards the fulfillment of the tasks of the social and economic program of the party. We have to demand from the management cadres discipline, adherence to principles, feeling for the new, creative approach imbued with initiative, and resoluteness in overcoming manifestations of bureaucracy, stereotyping, routinism and toleration of shortcomings. Those officials must receive the full support of party bodies and organizations which are fulfilling their tasks responsibly and boldly. [applause]

The basic criteria of political maturity, expertise and organizational aptitude must be concrete results bringing a benefit to society and socialism. The principle of linking the experiences of older, proven officials with the training of young, talented cadres applies today with an even greater urgency. With greater determination we must put women into responsible positions. It is necessary to train people with greater purposefulness and on a long-term basis, test them by placing them into responsible positions and giving them an opportunity to assert themselves in practice. Everyday experiences show that cadres grow and steel themselves for tasks in a practical struggle for the policy of the party, for socialism.

Party members must serve as an example in all sectors. We, communists, do not want and indeed must not distinguish ourselves from other working people in any way apart from our higher responsibility, awareness, hard work and selflessness. [applause]

We entered the ranks of the revolutionary vanguard of the working people with the awareness that the purpose of life is service to the people. Our only privilege is to be in the front ranks in the struggle for the further development of socialism and communism. [applause]

Comrades! Allow me to turn to the activity of our party in international relations. The past period demonstrated the correctness of the foreign-political line of our party aimed at fulfilling the peace program of the countries of the socialist community, at a consistent class-based approach to all phenomena of international life.

The greatest success, we consider, is that despite all the intrigues of world imperialism, it has been possible to defend peace. In opposition to the imperialist policy of power and dictate, confrontation, inciting conflict and the arms race, it has been possible, thanks to the all around activity of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist community, to develop the process of detente, to strengthen international security; it has been possible to achieve further successes in the struggle for peace, social progress and freedom of peoples. [applause]

The main positive factor of the current world development is strengthening the positions of socialism and growth of its attractive power. The struggle for peace and social justice on the part of working and progressive forces in the capitalist countries is still growing. New great victories have been scored by the people's liberation movements. All this sharpens the general crisis of capitalism and deepens its internal contradictions.

In an attempt to subvert the historically inevitable revolutionary transformations, to halt the process of detente, the most reactionary circles of imperialism, especially the United States, have embarked—at the time of transition between the seventies and the eighties—on intentional sharpening of the international situation. They have begun a course of stepping-up a heated arms race, creating new hotbeds of tension in various parts of the world, of blatant violence against the peoples fighting for freedom and independence. The just liberation struggle of peoples is being cynically proclaimed by them as international terrorism. Particularly dangerous is the striving of the ruling circles of the United States and the NATO countries to disturb and change, to their advantage, the allied strategic balance—the basis of the stability of the present-day world.

In the past period, the Central Committee paid its main attention to developing and deepening the alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries. This constitutes the cornerstone of our foreign policy. This purposeful cooperation is successfully developing in all spheres and at all levels. Its nucleus is constant strengthening of the Marxist-Leninist alliance of the CPCZ and the CPSU. A number of newly concluded important treaties and agreements of political, economic and scientific technological character help us resolutely to solve the tasks of building an advanced socialist society. In the alliance with the Soviet Union, the most intrinsic interests and desires of our people are being fulfilled. The Czechoslovak Communists, our peoples, highly assess the role of the Soviet Union as the decisive support of socialism, of all that is revolutionary and progressive, as the hope and guarantee of peaceful development whose strength demolishes the attempts of the imperialist and militarist circles to dictate their will to other peoples. [applause]

This objective role of the Soviet Union has yet again been demonstrated in full strength by the 26th CPSU Congress. The alliance and close cooperation with the Soviet Union is for us not only a revolutionary heritage, but also a living present and certainty on which we base all our plans and perspectives of further development. Our own experience, the pressing needs and tasks of further development of Czechoslovakia confirm fully the need for international socialist economic integration, the validity of the words of Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, delivered at the 26th Congress, that life itself dictates the task to supplement the coordination of plans of the countries of the socialist community by coordinating their entire economic policy. [applause]



Our party is in favor of an early meeting of the leading representatives of the fraternal socialist countries to discuss fundamental questions pertaining to the coordination of economic policy, and it is prepared to contribute to its full success. [applause]

In the common efforts of the socialist countries for a peaceful future of mankind the Warsaw Pact organization plays an irreplaceable role. We shall continue to make our contribution to the improvement of the activity of its bodies, to the further intensification of coordination of the foreign policy of the socialist states as well as to making sure that our common military-political alliance should reliably protect the socialist achievements of our peoples. [applause]

In our relations with the socialist states we proceed from the tried principles of socialist internationalism. The results of regular meetings of leading representatives of the socialist states are an expression of the increasingly deepening unity of the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties of our countries.

Consultations of Central Committee secretaries responsible for international relations, ideological, organizational and party work as well as the expansion of working party contacts at all levels have also become an inseparable component of our cooperation.

International imperialism is seeking to weaken the unity of the socialist community and by means of a differentiated policy and interference in the internal affairs of individual states is seeking to tear certain countries away from the community of the socialist family, as we have seen in Hungary, the GDR, Czechoslovakia and now again in the Polish People's Republic.

Reactionary forces have now elevated these subversive actions to official state policy. Lately the supporters and enemies of socialism have been focusing their attention on developments in Poland.

Antisocialist forces, backed and incited from abroad by the enemies of socialism, are trying to bring about a counterrevolutionary reversal in that fraternal socialist country. The forces of imperialist reaction, especially the United States, make no secret of their hope that they will succeed in weakening the socialist community.

We do not hide the fact that our people are following events in fraternal Poland with concern. This is understandable. History has taught us what it means to have a good neighbor, a reliable ally; we belong to the same political, economic and defense alliance. We have common objectives, common friends and enemies. We are linked by a thousand and one ties; we have the longest common border. That is why we are profoundly anxious to see that the Polish People's Republic should develop as a firm, orderly and socialist state. [prolonged applause]

We are all the more alarmed by the fact that the political and economic crisis in Poland continues and is becoming sharper. The PZPR Central Committee pointed to the seriousness of the situation when it stressed that as a result of the activation of anti-socialist and counterrevolutionary elements stirring up anarchy in the political and economic life of the country, the foundations of socialism are in danger.

Events show that the crisis-ridden development continues. The serious situation continues to cause us concern. The CPCZ and the people of our country, just like the other countries of the Warsaw Pact, support the communists, the working class, the working people, all true supporters of socialism, all true Polish patriots, in their endeavor to repel the onslaught of reaction, solve the accumulated problems and consolidate the socialist social system. [prolonged applause]

At the meeting of leading representatives of member states of the Warsaw Pact in Moscow last December, and on other occasions, the forces devoted to socialism in Poland received an important political support. It was repeatedly stressed that the further existence of the Polish People's Republic as a firm component of the socialist community is an important factor of stability in European as well as world policy. All those who attempt to misuse the events in Poland to stir up antisocialist campaigns must be



reminded of the clear standpoint that the defense of the socialist system is a matter for each socialist state, as well as a joint matter for states of the socialist community, which are resolved to uphold their interests and the socialist achievements of their peoples. [applause]

Links of friendship and of close, all around cooperation bind us with the heroic people of Socialist Cuba. We value highly the enormous efforts of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Kampuchean People's Republic to eliminate the consequences of the aggressive policy of imperialism and Chinese hegemonism. We will do everything to contribute our share to the building of a socialist society in these fraternal countries and to strengthening their hard-won independence. [applause]

More than 30 years ago, the progressive and revolutionary forces in the whole world and, alongside them, the Czechoslovak people welcomed with great hopes and sympathies the Chinese revolution and the birth of People's China. One notes with bitterness that instead of the Chinese People's Republic actively standing on the side of socialism, progress, peace and the struggle of nations for liberation, a gross violation and trampling of the substance of socialism and its principles has taken place. The Chinese leadership has embarked on a policy of hostility against the USSR and other states of the socialist community. It endangers peaceful life and socialist construction in the countries of Indochina and in Afghanistan. It pursues a destructive policy in the international communist and national liberation movement. At variance with the interests of progress and peace in the world it has allied itself with the policy of imperialism in the struggle against detente and in stepping up the arms race. Imperialist states, headed by the United States, utilize Beijing's foreign-political stances for their own designs against world socialism and the national-liberation struggle of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The policy pursued by the Chinese leadership in the last 2 decades cannot bring anything good to China and the Chinese people. Their objective interests, too, are inseparably linked with socialism, with the guaranteeing of a peaceful, calm life, with the development of normal international relations and cooperation.

While consistently maintaining the basic principles of our foreign policy, Czechoslovakia, as has been stressed, is ready to improve the interstate relations with the PRC.

The CPCZ Central Committee agrees with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and with the tasks faced by the world communist and workers movement, and is making a class-based contribution to the strengthening of the unity and ability to act of all revolutionary and democratic forces today. We shall support every initiative aimed at deepening the unity and cohesion of the communist and workers movement. Through our work we shall contribute to the positive results of international meetings, utilize the experiences of individual parties and contribute in all ways to the joint effort aimed at the victory of the cause of the working class and social progress. The Czechoslovak Communists are convinced that the fulfillment of the conclusions of international meetings, such as the Berlin Conference of 1976 and others, contributes to the strengthening of the unity of the communist movement and the entire anti-imperialist movement.

At the moment a number of problems have accumulated which concern all communist and workers parties, and in our view it would be useful to assess them jointly. History confirms that the forces of each communist and workers party which wages a struggle for the rights of working people, for peace, democracy and socialism, are multiplied if the international unity of our entire movement is strengthened.

In the spirit of the appeal for peace and disarmament adopted at the Paris meeting of European communist and workers parties last year, our party is helping to develop cooperation with all democratic, progressive and peace movements, with all political parties and organizations. While not overlooking the differences in the ideologies and political stances, we wish to continue to develop contacts with the social-democratic and socialist parties on the basis of our joint endeavor to strengthen the process of detente, to stop the feverish armaments, and to oppose the danger of war.

In the interest of strengthening the broad anti-imperialist front, we will develop cooperation with all progressive and democratic forces of Asia, Africa and Latin America. We shall strengthen international bonds and friendship with all countries which have chosen the path of socialist development, with organizations and movements which conduct a consistent struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism and racism, for the full liberation of their countries from the imperialist yoke. The Czechoslovak people will always be on the side of the nations fighting for freedom and independence and will support their economic and social development. [applause] We resolutely denounce the attempts of imperialists to export counterrevolution wherever nations have decided to overthrow the yoke of imperialist rule.

The Czechoslovak Communists and all our people express their unanimous agreement with the fraternal aid selflessly afforded to the Afghan Revolution by the Soviet Union. [applause] We firmly stand on the side of the people and revolutionary forces of Afghanistan.

The situation in the Near East has become more complicated and tense as a result of the hegemonist endeavors of the United States. We fully support the proposal of the 26th CPSU of this dangerous hotbed of tension. An overall political settlement must be based on respect for the legitimate interests of all states and peoples in the region. This requires the speedy withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied since 1967, full respect for the rights of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including the establishment of an independent, autonomous [as heard] state, and ensuring the security and sovereignty of all states in the Near and Middle East. [The version of the Husak speech published in the 7 April Prague RUDE PRAVO omits the word "autonomous" from the previous sentence.]

In the countries of Latin America the progressive and revolutionary forces are waging a courageous struggle against exploitation and oppression by imperialism and fascist dictatorial regimes. The people of El Salvador, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, Guatemala and other heavily tested countries are shedding their blood. We condemn the genocide and crimes perpetrated by external and internal reaction in the interest of preserving their positions over the people of Central and South America. We are in solidarity with the communists, revolutionaries and all progressive people in these countries in their hard struggle for freedom and a happy future. [applause]

Our relations with the capitalist countries are to be developed along the principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems in the spirit of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. In all aspects of our bilateral and multilateral contacts with capitalist states we are abiding by all the provisions of the Final Act which we consider to be one indivisible entity. We also maintain that furthering the policy of detente and the development of relations between states with different social systems requires the constructive cooperation of all states on equal terms, mutual respect and noninterference in the internal affairs of individual countries.

Military detente is of decisive importance for the promotion of relations between states in the spirit of peace and detente. From the rostrum of the 26th Congress, the Soviet Union launched a fresh initiative to expand the territory to be covered by confidence-building measures in the military sphere to all the European part of the Soviet Union provided the Western states, too, expand in an appropriate manner the region where these measures would be applied. It is natural that confidence-building must be bilateral. On this question, there can be no privileges for anyone. There need be no obstacles in the path of this generous offer from the USSR in order to reach early agreement, namely, the convocation of a conference on military detente and disarmament.

But progress at the Madrid meeting demonstrates that the United States is still trying to obstruct concrete results. The CSSR, together with the fraternal socialist and other peace-loving countries, is working toward making Europe a region of lasting peace. This is the objective of the latest Soviet proposal--to declare an immediate moratorium on the deployment of new NATO and Soviet nuclear medium-range missiles in Europe.

The U.S. military-industrial complex does not like the idea of a Europe at peace. U.S. imperialism has not abandoned its intention of transforming Europe into a potential venue for nuclear war as part of its world-wide hegemonist plans. In doing so, it is spreading the illusions that the United States would be spared the horrors of war. We believe that the vital interests of the people and the strength of common sense will triumph. On our part, we are prepared to do everything for the cause of peace that is within the limits of our possibilities. [applause]

Within the framework of bilateral relations with the capitalist countries positive developments have been achieved, especially in relations with neighboring states--the Federal Republic of Germany and Austria. Mutually advantageous cooperation, above all in the economic field, and the promotion of relations which include contacts at the highest level are proof of this. Good-neighborly relations are, unfortunately, being jeopardized by senseless support, often even by official quarters in these countries, for elements engaged in hostile activities against Czechoslovakia.

Over the past period, positive relations have continued by and large with the great majority of Western states. Contacts with Japan have been expanding usefully. The only country with which there has not been a full normalization of relations so far--and through no fault of our own--is the United States. Yet the Czechoslovak people hold the American people in esteem. During World War II we were on the same side, together, in the struggle against the common enemy, Fascism, which brought unparalleled suffering to many peoples. It is, therefore, hard to understand that the Czechoslovak gold treasure, stolen by the Hitlerites, is being arbitrarily retained in the United States to this day. It is impossible to use our national property for some sort of horse-trading or apply blackmail against us. The fact that it has been unlawfully in foreign hands for 36 years, retained illegally by the U.S. administration also affects our national honor. [applause] The CSSR remains willing to negotiate this question and we now expect that the new U.S. administration will display a more realistic approach.

Comrades, the 1980's will not be simple. The most important task facing mankind is the preservation of peace. The new and important initiatives offered at the 26th CPSU Congress by Comrade Brezhnev outline a realistic peace alternative to the imperialist policy of intentionally increasing international tension. Our party considers this organic continuation and development of the peace program of the CPSU a reliable and effective way to solve the most urgent and pressing problems of international life today. At the same time, we see in this program a concentrated expression of the intrinsic interests, needs and aims of the Czechoslovak people in international relations. We are aware that achieving these peace goals will not be an easy task. It will be necessary to continue the difficult struggle with reactionary and imperialist forces trying to reverse the process of detente. We fully share the view of Comrade Brezhnev that--and I quote--the guideline for tomorrow must not be the preparation for war, which forces nations to waste pointlessly material and spiritual values, but it must be the strengthening of peace. [applause]

In the interest of the preservation of peace and of the advantageous prerequisites for building socialist society, we will, in close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, do everything possible to strengthen the security of the socialist community so that aggressive imperialist forces cannot reverse the existing military-strategic balance. [applause]

We shall strive to bring to fruition all the peace initiatives jointly prepared and implemented by the socialist countries, which are demonstrating to the whole world that socialism is the decisive force in the struggle of nations for peace and international security. [applause]

Dear comrades delegates, esteemed guests, we are evaluating the results of the intensive work of our party and people over the last 5 years, and we are laying down the program for the years ahead. We have recalled with pride the 60-year history of the CPCZ which is filled with struggle for the fundamental interests of our nations, their freedom and the victory of socialism, with loyal service to the working class and our people, through the selfless and committed work of more than 1.5 million communists, of hundreds



of thousands of functionaries of the National Front and of millions of nonparty members in our country. We are writing another chapter in our recent history--a chapter of building an advanced socialist society. Now, the CSSR belongs to those states which are known in the world for their successes in the political, economic, social and cultural spheres. As a firm part of the world socialist community, our republic enjoys the respect and regard of all progressive and peace-loving forces.

We approach the development of the program for the next period with a sense of responsibility, and we will approach its detailing, and what is most important, its fulfillment with the same sense. As for the future, we view it with optimism, but sobriety. We reckon with realistic and well-founded prospects, which we base on our most valuable strengths--on the initiative of the consciousness for which socialism is the fulfillment of its yearnings, on a man who has drawn his resolve and strength from the fact that he is the free and sovereign master, creator and user of all the wealth of his country.

Some may say that the tasks we are setting for ourselves are difficult. But when in the history of our party did communists set themselves easy tasks? I am no doubt voicing the conviction of all of us when I say that the program which we will adopt will not only be fulfilled but also over fulfilled. [applause]

We have the prerequisites. They are contained in the realism of our program, in the cohesion of the party, in its close ties with the people, in the firm membership of our country in the socialist community, and, above all, in all around fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union. [applause]

Let the program of the 16th Congress become the moving force which will inspire us in a fresh upsurge of honest and selfless work, in scoring new successes on the way to a communist tomorrow! [applause]

Long live our people! Let our dear homeland--the CSSR--flourish! [applause] The friendship, alliance, unity and cooperation of states of the socialist community be strengthened and cemented! [applause] Let the unity of the fraternal communist and workers' parties, guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and principles of proletarian internationalism, be further strengthened! [applause] Let the unbreakable friendship of our nations with the nations of the USSR develop forever! Long live the USSR and its glorious Leninist Communist Party! [applause] Long live socialism and peace! Honor and glory to the CPCZ! [applause and chanting]

#### DELEGATION HEADS ADDRESS CONGRESS 7 APRIL

GDR's Sindermann

LD072012 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1750 GMT 7 Apr 81

["From the address by the leader of the SED delegation to the 16th CPCZ Congress"--ADN headline]

[Text] Prague, 7 Apr (ADN)--Horst Sindermann, leader of the SED Central Committee delegation to the 16th CPCZ Congress, SED Central Committee Politburo member and president of the People's Chamber, on behalf of the SED Central Committee, its general secretary, Erich Honecker, and all GDR Communists, today conveyed warm and fraternal greetings to the highest forum of the Czechoslovak Communists. He said: "Our greetings are offered in the certain knowledge that this congress will initiate another successful chapter in the building of an advanced socialist society in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. Its decisions will help strengthen the positions of the community of socialist states in the struggle for peace and social progress."

The report rendered by Gustav Husak, he said, "provides graphic evidence that the Czechoslovak working class, in close alliance with the cooperative peasants, socialist intelligentsia and the other sections of the working people, is consistently and purposefully striding ahead on the path of socialist construction under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party. The successful record of your country's social and economic development in the past 5 years shows convincingly that the concern of communists has become the cause of the people." The speaker said: "In view of the imperialist policy of confrontation and the aggravation of the international situation it has caused, our party attaches prime importance to the further strengthening of our alliance, the still closer collaboration of our socialist states in all fields of social life." In this spirit he welcomed the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress, "which open up new opportunities and prospects to the community of socialist states and the struggle of the people for peace, detente and social progress."



"The 26th congress has provided renewed and powerful proof that the USSR, as the principal power of peace, is setting its consistent policy of peace and the security of nations against the imperialist policy of the arms drive and confrontation. Today's speech by our highly esteemed friend and comrade, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev, has reaffirmed this great and sincere concern of the Soviet Union to the world at large. May the governments of the NATO states use the chance of dialogue and negotiations in the interests of their peoples. The call for peace is heard from Moscow. Firmly linked with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, the German Democratic Republic will continue its wholehearted endeavors to make the eighties another decade of peace in Europe."

Imperialist attacks on peace, detente and social progress will be foiled by the close ties of the parties with the working masses. This struggle for peace, detente, arms limitation and disarmament includes firm solidarity with the peoples fighting for their national and social liberation. Sindermann stressed: "In all situations we will stand by the side of our Cuban brothers."

The SED delegation leader described the further strengthening and deepening of the close relations of alliance between the GDR and CSSR as a major factor in developments since the 15th CPCZ Congress and the Ninth SED Congress.

He called the firm friendship between both peoples an "historic achievement of which we German and Czechoslovak communists can rightly be proud." It fulfilled the legacy of many generations of revolutionaries and is reflected in the steady and stable cooperation between both socialist states. "The scale and substance of our reciprocal trade, which will grow to over R10 billion in the coming 5-year plan, are increasingly determined by specialization and collaboration in research, development and production."

Horst Sindermann said: "On the eve of our party's 10th congress we wish to assure you, dear comrades, that the SED will purposefully continue the proven policy of more closely uniting our peoples. We are neighbors and share the concern, expressed in Comrade Husak's report, at the development in the Polish People's Republic. We hold, unchanged, to our view that People's Poland is and remains socialist."

The preparations for the 10th SED Congress are "marked by the firm unity of party and people and by the greatest mass initiative in our country's history. Under the slogan 'The Best for the 10th Party Congress--Everything for the People's Well-Being,' the communists and all working people in the German Democratic Republic are performing outstanding feats in socialist competition."

In conclusion, Horst Sindermann wished success to the proceedings of the party congress and great success to the Czechoslovak communist and fraternal Czechoslovak people in building their advanced socialist society.

Poland's Olszowski

LD072234 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2105 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Speech by Stefan Olszowski, head of the PZPR delegation, at the 7 April session of the 16th CPCZ Congress--recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Husak, dear comrade delegates: I have been empowered to convey to you, the delegates of the 16th congress, the communists and nations of the fraternal Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, sincere greetings from the PZPR Central Committee, from the communists and the working people of our country. I wish you, dear comrade delegates, fruitful deliberations. I listened with attention to the report of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium delivered by Comrade Gustav Husak. In this program speech was contained a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation and presented were the wonderful achievements of fraternal Socialist Czechoslovakia.

We rejoice with you because of your achievements. Your congress coincides with an important event in the life of the CPCZ--the 60th anniversary of its creation. In the hearts of Polish Communists the memory of strong, revolutionary ties and cooperation of the Communist Party of Poland with the CPCZ is alive. The traditions of friendship, going back to the best pages of the history of our parties and nations, are at the foundations of contemporarily shaped Polish-Czechoslovak relations. They are characterized by a universal cooperation which in recent years brought many mutual benefits and can bring even more in the future in all spheres of life, including the spheres of economy, science and technology.

This corresponds with the vital interests of our countries and nations, which live as neighbors. The alliance and friendship between our parties, states and nations comes from the profoundly understood ideological principles of socialist internationalism. They form the foundations of the fraternal friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of our community. Cooperation within the Warsaw Pact and CEMA is the lasting and unchanging base of the policy of both our parties and states.

These internationalist principles we will strengthen, and enrich and we will guard their integrity. Poland has to its credit great achievements attained in the course of 36 years of people's rule and socialist construction. These achievements, apparent in all spheres of economic and intellectual life, are the outcome of the collective effort of the working class and of all workers.

For 36 years the socialist state has set in motion a vast industrial potential; it has developed hitherto unknown fields of production; it has educated numerous cadres of the intelligentsia stemming from the working and peasant class. The great achievements of our country and of the Polish people are today obscured by a sharp economic crisis and by social conflicts which have befallen us.

This crisis carries with it a threat for the supreme values--the socialist statehood and its structures. Attempts to exploit it are being made by enemies of socialism, who create through their actions a danger of a counterrevolutionary nature, undermining the greatest attainment of our postwar development--the stabilization of the socialist Polish state. Our party, its echelons and organizations, the Central Committee and the Politburo fight stubbornly and patiently, against difficulties and against the threat to socialism, to lead Poland out to the bright path of socialist construction in accordance with its universal precepts, without distortions and deformations, in the interest of the working men and in conformity with social justice.

The PZPR is engaged in intensive work designed to restore and consolidate the Leninist norms in party life, principles of socialist morality and civic responsibility in public life. It embarks on difficult actions in order to restore an equilibrium of the national economy, [word indistinct] production activity. It gradually removes the negligence in ideological and political work and in the consolidation of civic attitudes.

To the advocates of political destruction and of destabilization of the state, taking inspiration from [word indistinct] centers of imperialist subversion, we put up in opposition a civic front of the forces of commonsense and patriotism, the party line of socialist renewal and the socioeconomic program of the new government under the leadership of Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Nobody will ever succeed in pushing Poland off the socialist road of development. [loud applause]

The events in Poland remain interlinked with the state security system of other countries of the socialist community. That is why the leadership of our party correctly understands and treats with (all the greater) seriousness your anxiety and feelings of profound concern over the situation in Poland. The PZPR, guided by a sense of patriotic and internationalist responsibility, will find enough strength and will to lead the country out of the social and economic crisis onto the road of stable socialist development. We will never forget that in moments of difficulty for Poland, we met and are meeting with, on the part of the CPSU and other fraternal parties, including the CPCZ, understanding and far-reaching economic aid. The understanding gives us additional strength and the aid makes possible the alleviation of the most painfully felt difficulties. We thank you sincerely.

The political struggle is continuing in our country. Guided by the aim of overcoming the crisis phenomena and social tensions, the Central Committee has undertaken the preparations for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

The programmatic precepts at present worked out for the congress aim at the development of socialist democracy, the consolidation of the leading role of the PZPR in socialist construction and stabilization of the socioeconomic situation of the country.

Esteemed comrades! Confronted by a complex international situation, the 26th CPSU Congress has confirmed the great role of the USSR in the struggle for the prevention of war, and for ensuring lasting peace to the peoples of Europe and the world. Let me repeat after the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, and I quote: It is perfectly clear to me that the Soviet Union and its allies are today, more than ever before, the chief mainstay of peace in the world.

New peace proposals were submitted from the rostrum of the 26th Congress. Today, in the speech made by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, we find these further unfolded and motivated. This constitutes an historical contribution to the deed of consolidating peace, and a new, extremely important inspiration for the policy of detente. Poland has special reasons to fully support these proposals. The problem of peace constitutes for our nation a supreme reason. Cooperating with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, we launched at the Madrid conference a proposal for convening a conference for military detente, declaring at the same time our readiness to play host to the conference participants in Warsaw.

Dear comrades, delegates! The 16th CPCZ Congress will outline in its resolutions the targets and tasks leading to a further development of Socialist Czechoslovakia, the enrichment of its spiritual and material values, and the building of a universally developed socialist society. In the implementation of these plans we wish you, dear comrades, delegates, as well as all Czechoslovak workers, many achievements and successes.

Long live the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia!

May the indissoluble friendship, brotherly cooperation between the PZPR and the CPCZ, between our states and nations, strengthen! [applause]

Long live peace and socialism! [applause]

Hungary's Ovari

LD072350 Budapest MTI in English 1736 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] Budapest, 7 Apr (MTI)--Miklos Ovari, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, addressed the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on Tuesday.

"Our delegation followed with great attention and interest the Central Committee report on the results achieved in the fields of production, society, culture and social-welfare," said the head of the Hungarian party delegation. "All this wins high international repute and prestige to the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The constructive nature of the tasks for the next five years formulated in a scientific, Marxist-Leninist spirit provide convincing proof that the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the leading force of the entire society, proceeds on the path of building an advanced socialist society successfully and consistently, making use of the international experience of socialist construction and applying it in a constructive manner under the domestic circumstances."

Miklos Ovari further dealt with Hungary's home policy, stressing: "We can owe our results in socialist building to the fact that after putting down the counter-revolutionary revolt that broke out nearly a quarter of a century ago for the well-known reasons, we restored the Leninist norms within the party and, on the basis of our socialist programme, we re-established the mutual confidence of the party and the masses with open words and through a unity of words and deeds."

"In our foreign policy," said the CC secretary, "we attach special attention to cherishing our close ties of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and other countries of the socialist community. In the future too our country will take its share in fulfilling the common tasks set inside the Warsaw Treaty organization and the cooperation activities carried out within the council for mutual economic assistance. A number of moves by the imperialist powers has added to the international tension in recent years. Lately the extremist imperialist circles have apparently enhanced their attacks by means of ideology and propaganda against the socialist community and some of its member-countries. We too watch with concern the intricate and grave situation in Poland which jeopardizes the achievements of the Polish people and the basic institutions of the socialist system. In the recent months our party has voiced more than once its solidarity with the Polish Communists and the adherents of socialism in the country. Our Central Committee pointed out in its March 26 session: The Polish supporters of socialism, the genuine Polish patriots have the strength to counter the more and more overt attacks from the hostile and anarchistic forces, see to restoring order and ensure a socialist-oriented development."

Miklos Ovari referred in his contribution to what was said at the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "In the more intricate and tenser international situation of today special importance falls on the (?proposals that) Brezhnev made at the congress. The Hungarian Communists and our working people extend full support to those suggestions which answer the interests of not only the socialist countries but all peace-loving peoples. Our party and government seek in their international activities to help realize these proposals," concluded his speech the head of the Hungarian party delegation.

#### OPENING OF 8 APRIL MORNING SESSION REPORTED

LD080836 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0730 GMT 8 Apr 81

[Excerpt] The deliberations of the 16th CPCZ Congress continue in the congress hall of the Palace of Culture in Prague. Petr Voldan reports:

The delegates and guests to the congress, among whom is also Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic are listening to the speech by Frantisek Pitra, chief secretary of the South Bohemia regional party committee. Speaking in the discussion before him was Miroslav Bednar, railroad engineer from Ceska Trebova, who spoke about the problems of transportation and about socialist competition on the railways. The session is chaired by Comrade Josef Korcak.



The speeches of these two comrades, as well as the remarks of other delegates and guests, recall the report on the activity of the party delivered by Comrade Gustav Husak and on the address delivered by Comrade Lubomir Strougal, who in the report on the Main Directions for the Economic and Social Development of Czechoslovakia for 1981-85 solidly outlined the tasks of every citizen. The conversations in the foyer of the congress hall this morning indicate that the greatest response was stimulated by yesterday's speech by Comrade Leonid Ilich Brezhnev.

Brezhnev Attending

LD081046 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 8 Apr 81

[Excerpts] The discussions at the congress hall [of the Palace of Culture] are continuing. This morning's meeting is being attended by Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, and the delegates today again welcomed in their midst the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev.

OTHER CONGRESS ACTIVITIES REPORTED 7 APRIL

Spanish, Portuguese Delegates

LD080003 Prague CTK in English 2100 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] Prague, 7 Apr (CETKA)--The importance of unity of left-wing and democratic forces for the development of the Iberian Peninsula in the interest of strengthening security and cooperation in Europe was emphasized at a meeting with Czechoslovak and foreign journalists by representatives of the Communist Parties of Spain and Portugal here Tuesday night.

Carlos Tuya, co-chairman of the Spanish United Communist Party, stressed that the party pursues in its program a "policy of unity of the left, based on scientific communism and proletarian internationalism, and therefore it parted ways with the communist party of Santiago Carillo." We are striving for unity of all true communists, with all the other progressive forces of present-day Spain, to jointly push through a program of true democratization, Carlos Tuya stated.

He stressed that the left must be the core of this alliance. The head of the Spanish party delegation voiced support for the policy of peace. The united struggle of all progressive forces in Spain must be directed against the attempts to drag Spain into the aggressive North Atlantic Pact, he stated. "We consistently link mobilization of the public opinion against these designs with the struggle for the liquidation of U.S. military bases on our territory," he added.

He supported Spain's policy of neutrality which creates conditions for peaceful cooperation of nations. The emphasis put on peace at the Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress is an encouragement to the Spanish party in their struggle, just as the successes attained by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia convince us of the correctness of our road, Carlos Tuya stated.

Head of the Portuguese Communist Party delegation Carlos Costa, member of the party's Political Commission, stressed the need for unity of left-wing forces to defend and deepen the results of the April 1974 revolution which overthrew the fascist dictatorship in Portugal.

The basic line of the party in the struggle against the intentions of the Portuguese reaction is to unite all progressive forces for continued democratization, land reform and nationalization. The Communist Party regards as decisive for further development unity with the Socialist Party which, however, is now suffering from crisis and a deep internal split. "The Portuguese Socialist Party is not virtually socialist in the full meaning of the world.

We are aware of this, but it certainly is democratic in our conditions and it is thus a significant force which can defend, in cooperation with the Communists, that which is most important for the future of Portugal--the gains of the revolution and the democratic constitution against which the attacks of reaction are concentrated," Carlos Costa said.

"The Portuguese Communist Party, which celebrated its 60th anniversary in March, holds in high esteem the work of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and its share in the peace-making policy of the socialist community. At this very time of new imperialist attacks on the policy of peace in the world, the strengthening of the unity of socialist countries and all progressive forces of this planet is of greatest importance," the Portuguese guest said.

#### Husak Meets Regional Officials

LD071730 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] During a break in the congress deliberations Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received representatives of the Prague regional party organization, headed by Antonin Kapek, Presidium member of the CPCZ Central Committee and chief secretary of the Prague regional party committee.

Comrade Kapek presented a report to Comrade Husak on the labor initiative of the citizens of Prague undertaken on the occasion of the 16th Congress. He stressed that this broad stream of activity is an expression of sincere thanks for the attention and support given by the top party and state organs to our capital.

Comrade Husak thanked the Prague citizens for their dedicated, conscientious and honest work and expressed the conviction that the working people of Prague will make the effort for the further flourishing of the socialist homeland and its capital in the future as well. Comrade Husak also assessed the activity of the regional party organization which, in the spirit of its revolutionary traditions, is a firm pillar of the CPCZ.

#### CHARTER 77 DISSIDENTS REPORTED RELEASED 6 APR

NC061952 Paris AFP in English 1944 GMT 6 Apr 81

[Text] Prague, 6 Apr (AFP)--All the members of Czechoslovakia's "Charter 77" human rights movement who were arrested before the 16th Communist Party Congress here have been freed, a source close to the dissident group said today.

A dozen members of Charter 77, which monitors compliance with the Helsinki accords on human rights, had been arrested while others were warned to stay outside of Prague during the Communist Congress that opened today.

Such measures are common whenever important official events are held or foreign dignitaries arrive here. The source said all those arrested were released by early this morning.

#### RUDE PRAVO COMMENTS ON POLISH DEVELOPMENTS

##### Unwillingness 'To Cooperate'

AU061814 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Apr 81 p 7

[Jan Lipavsky-Pavol Minarik Warsaw dispatch: "Appeal for Prudence; Polish Government on the Situation in the Country; However, 'Solidarity' Is Preparing Further Provocations; Unrest in Bydgoszcz Continues"]

[Text] Warsaw, 2 Apr--The Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic [PPR] approved on Wednesday evening the compromise agreement signed with "Solidarity" on Monday in Warsaw, and entrusted the Committee for Trade Union Affairs with discussing, during the next meeting with "Solidarity" representatives, the common responsibility for halting the constant aggravation of the country's economic situation.

Toward the end of the session Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski stated: As perhaps never before in our past history, Poland's future now depends on general, conscious discipline and responsibility, which are the condition of stabilization. Poland is getting valuable assistance from the Soviet Union, which has lately granted our request for additional deliveries of various raw and other materials. We are also striving to acquire the necessary credit and materials and foodstuffs from other countries. In the present situation everything must be done to consolidate prudence and responsibility and ward off all extremist tendencies, the disorientation of society, and law violations. An important task is to ensure conditions for the undisturbed work of our economy and the authorities. Everybody must unconditionally adhere to order. The work of administrative bodies must not be made difficult, and the jurisdiction of directors and production organizers must not be restricted. First and foremost, we are counting on working collectives, on the workers class, whose responsibility is of decisive significance for Poland's fate, W. Jaruzelski stressed.

At the same time the members of the PPR's Council of Ministers had to state that the agreement mentioned above lacks a clearcut statement by "Solidarity" on what it would do to stabilize the country's social and economic life and to overcome the crisis.

The trade unions' Consultative Commission has adopted a completely different, positive stand on this matter: It unambiguously rejected the adventurism of the "Solidarity" leaders, which they demonstrated by threatening a general strike.

The unwillingness of "Solidarity" leaders to cooperate with the government in renewing normal life is a source of concern for the further development of the situation in Poland.

Both during the Bydgoszcz events and after them, during the Monday and Tuesday negotiations of the "Solidarity's" National Consultative Commission in Gdansk, the extreme rightwingers continued to form themselves; their program is to destroy the socialist system, including, among other things, the revision of the agreement concluded with the government on Monday. This is connected with the resolution of the "Solidarity's" Gdansk session on calling, and regarding, this agreement as "initial," as a point of departure for further pressures on the government.

It remains a fact that extreme tendencies prevail in "Solidarity." The pressure on the government continues. Such is the general line of the antistate KOR organization also, which is increasingly influencing "Solidarity's" leadership and many a regional organization, too.

In the Bydgoszcz Voivodship the local "Solidarity" boss Rulewski is maintaining the state of strike alert. By his adventurous political attitudes and his disagreement with the lifting of the general strike he has taken a stand both against the government program and against Walesa's "Consultative Commission." He obviously proceeds from the thought that he is not isolated.

This is already the third week of the "occupation" of the ZSL headquarters in Bydgoszcz by people posing as farmers. On Thursday, the day we visited Bydgoszcz, we convinced ourselves that the organizers of these riots show no willingness to positively react to General Jaruzelski's appeal to establish conditions for a normal functioning of the economy and of official places. The people posing as farmers have literally erected barricades in the building of the ZSL; they have plastered the building with posters and leaflets with ultimatum-like demands, among other things, for the registering of so-called Rural "Solidarity," and for the punishment of those who had thrown the group of agents provocateurs out of the People's Council's building. From time to time a truck arrives at the doors of the ZSL headquarters, bringing further foodstuffs for the group behind the barricades....

Weariness, great weariness is felt and seen in this city. But nevertheless it is also true the Bydgoszcz Voivodship continues under the influence of the local "Solidarity" boss Rulewski and that not all local citizens show the endeavor to respond to the PPR premier's appeal for order, for a return to normal work and for refraining from all and any actions disrupting the normal rhythm of life.

#### Polish 'Antifascist's' Views

AU061844 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Apr 81 p 7

[Interview given by Polish writer Stanislaw Majewski to Eduard Drabik: "Dam Against the Counterrevolution; Opinion of an Antifascist Fighter"--date and place of interview not given]

[Text] The open onslaught of the antisocialist forces in Poland is meeting with the resistance of true Polish patriots, of people devoted to the party and to socialism. The determination to defend the socialist system against the enemy has been expressed time and again by the Polish resistance fighters, members of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy (ZBOWID). One of the members of the movement of fighters against fascism is writer Stanislaw Majewski, participant in the Slovak national uprising, to whom I put several questions.

[Question] How do you and your comrades assess the current domestic political situation?

[Answer] If I am to speak of its immediate developments, we definitely have here a purely political conflict. At the 26th CPSU Congress, when Comrade Kania said that it is not a matter of protest against the socialist system, but a matter of deviating from the principles of socialism, we were still in the first phase of development. Now certain forces want to make use of this movement to oppose the socialist system. In the first phase they won over many people who did not think that we were being confronted by a counterrevolution. But in the further course of events, hostile elements increasingly began to penetrate the movement with the aim of seizing the rudder and misleading the masses to the path of political adventurism and of opposing the socialist system.

[Question] Is the evoking and sharpening of tension around the Bydgoszcz events and the constant conflicts and strike threats meant to serve this aim?

[Answer] Yes, because the antisocialist forces have adopted the tactics of so-called progressive resolution, as they themselves say--or, rather, the tactics of creeping counter-revolution. First in this direction, then in another--we have here the principle of a so-called rubber pillow: We press it in one place and it puffs out in another. They are talking about the revolution so as to cover up the counterrevolutionary substance of their acts.

If I, an old fighter of the ideological front, find it frequently rather difficult to determine who specifically is the source of the unrest, it is even more difficult for a worker to discern who is talking to him--an enemy or a friend. It is particularly so at present, in the flood of demagogy, of various camouflages and lies. Recently I found an article in the Krakow Solidarity's newspaper, which wrote that we should find street lamps on which to hang people later. And this is being published for everyone to read! Years ago something similar appeared in Czechoslovakia. For us communists it is not surprising. The class enemy is perfecting the forms and methods of his propaganda and his fight, but his arsenal is sufficiently well known to us.

[Question] But have the people not yet recognized the direction in which the counter-revolutionary elements are manipulating them?

[Answer] Every day I see that an increasing number of people are becoming convinced that neither the government, nor the party, is to blame for the constant conflicts and crises.



I want to stress that in Solidarity, too, there are people who wonder at what they have let themselves be dragged into, at the people who are manipulating them, at what all this is leading to.

[Question] Who is it then that is fanning the sparks of the counterrevolution today?

[Answer] I would particularly like to stress that it is not only the circles that have cast off their mask and are openly going against the party and against socialism. A great danger is threatening from the groups and circles that frequently hide behind socialist slogans. The party has been greatly harmed by the various elements who have nothing in common with the workers class and the party. It is exactly they who have served the enemies of socialism, enabling them to start shouting about the "party's guilt," and to start demanding its liquidation!

At present one of the main enemy slogans is the thesis saying that Poland is not independent, that it is "a ward" of the Soviet Union. We--and I mean we communists and resistance fighters--reply to this by saying that even in private life everybody wants to have a good and strong friend who will support him in difficult situations. In the same way every nation wants to have a friend, for good times and bad. The crux of the matter is, whether the friend is truly a friend. Because, in fact, there are many who would like to make us their ward--without quotation marks; but we must take exception to who they are!

In the present world of socialism and capitalism the situation is clear, because the aims of each side are known. That is why the alliance with the Soviet Union is vitally necessary for us; independent Poland cannot exist without it.

Every day I encounter fellow fighters, and I know that many of them think the same way.

[Question] Thank you for the talk.

#### Solidarity Members' Views

AU080931 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Apr 81 p 7

[Jan Lipavsky-Pavol Minarik article: "In Bydgoszcz, in the Occupied ZSL Headquarters"]

[Text] After pounding on the doors of the ZSL's voivodship committee in Bydgoszcz, which these last 3 weeks have been unlawfully occupied by a group of private farmers, we see the door gradually begin to open.

What do you want? The distrust in the youth's eyes is apparent. You come from Czechoslovakia? The surprise is obvious. Identity card! This looks like a personal search.

Inside the building it is like a beehive. But in a few moments there is a sudden hush. Religious services begin.... We have time for a few moments of pondering; not so much about the piety of the Polish farmer, as about the people who had inspired and made these farmers occupy a public building. We think of KOR and the Polish episcopate, of Cardinal Wyszynsky's recent speech in Gniezno, where he called for the legal recognition of the trade union of private farmers. We think of the coordinated pressure of the episcopate and the leadership of Walesa's trade unions in this matter on the government....

As soon as the "amen" sounds, a youth comes running in with press material of the Gdansk "Solidarity" under his arm; another farmer reads aloud to us what we had written in RUDE PRAVO and PRAVDA about "Rural Solidarity." All this sounds like an accusation, and immediately after that like interrogation! Who gave you the right to write about us in this way?

--And who gave you the right to act in this way, to occupy this building?

Instead of replying, they switch on the film from the voivodship people's Council's session in Bydgoszcz, from which public security had "shown out" the leader of Bydgoszcz "solidarity" Rulewski and a group of advocates of "Rural Solidarity." It is obvious that public security proceeded in line with justice and the law. They had an obvious attempt to occupy the People's Council. While the film is being shown, offensive words are heard about the security bodies, the voivoda and other functionaries. They want to hear our opinion, and so I tell them outright:

—Had the things we have seen here happened anywhere else in the world, had a group of unauthorized persons invaded a session of a body of representatives and failed to follow the deputies' request to leave the conference hall—such people would be shown out as brawlers, and finally punished, everywhere in the world. And in the West this would have ended far worse.

The group of farmers surrounding us has visibly grown.

—But surely we are living in a free state, a young farmer called Szymanczyk says. Surely we have our rights.

And then there fell great words about tolerance and so forth, but not a word about respecting the law and the legal code.

Is it blindness, or inveteracy? Probably both.

They were very glad, they say, that the government report on the Bydgoszcz events was "nevertheless in the end adjusted in their favor." This allegedly showed the strength of their entire movement. This allegedly poured new blood into their veins. And it is perhaps because of all this that on Thursday evening, at the Warsaw press conference, the leader of that very same "Rural Solidarity" confidently declared: "We regard the agreement concluded on 30 March as a kind of progress, even though it has still not fulfilled our expectations." This was said after the journalists were read the communique on the visit of "Rural Solidarity's" delegation to Cardinal Wyszynski. Among other things, the communique states that the private farmers are "conceded the right to assemble in trade unions."

They take us around the building. Downstairs, in the basement, three men are painting one phrase followed by three exclamation marks, over and over again: "We are waiting." In a little while, they hang it on the side of the building.

—Who are you waiting for? we ask.

—For the government, of course; it must come over here, to us; we will not go after it. It is here to serve us.

They want to stand above everybody else, they want to be "independent" over all and sundry, and to act according to their discretion. They would like to make "Rural Solidarity" a political party. They recognize nothing except themselves alone.

Some want us to write that there are no kulaks in Poland, who recruit small farmers into "Solidarity" by diverse threats and extortion. But immediately after that one of them lets slip that, actually, there is only a "relatively small" number of people owning 60 hectares and more and, insofar as they are leading small farmers into "Solidarity," this is merely "for their own advantage."

All in all, it was an interesting talk. They see the problems in market supplies primarily in the "lack of democracy." In the same breath they sing praise of the "freedom of choice of economic forms."

—You strike how and when you want, while others must plough and sow for you, and tend the cattle....

They are fired up by this, saying that we allegedly have no idea of what "Solidarity" is. Well, in this case they are right.

OSKAR FISCHER DELIVERS SPEECH ON WEAPONS BALANCE

LDO32344 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1953 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Berlin, 3 Apr (ADN)--Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, delivered a speech on Friday at an event in Koenigswusterhausen. He stressed that the socialist countries were pitted against the ominous aspiration of imperialism for military superiority; their alternative would be to safeguard peace. Above all, it was the proposal for a moratorium on the freezing of nuclear weapons in Europe--submitted by the 26th CPSU Congress and under consideration by leading politicians of West European states--which represent an exceptionally weighty step towards an accord on the reduction of these dangerous weapons.

With reference to the Madrid meeting, Oskar Fischer stressed that sensible and mutually acceptable compromises concerning the continuation of relaxation of tension were possible if all the participating states adhered to the principles agreed on in Helsinki and if they did not aspire at gaining unilateral advantages at the expense of others. There is bound to be a role for foreign ministers of northern European states aimed at a "substantial and balanced final outcome" of the Madrid meeting.

RADIO ON NATO NUCLEAR PLANNING GROUP MEETING

DWO71408 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1010 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Mattias Ehrich commentary]

[Text] In Bonn this morning NATO's Nuclear Planning Group resumed two-day negotiations. With NATO Secretary General Luns in the chair the defense ministers of the NATO member countries are discussing problems of nuclear rearmament. Mattias Ehrich reports.

The Nuclear Planning Group often is described as the most secret body of NATO. In fact, the participants in the annual meetings are undertaking considerable efforts not to leak out details of the deliberations and in particular the resolutions passed there behind closed doors. This is no wonder, because the topics discussed there are the modernization of NATO's nuclear armaments and their possible use against the Warsaw Pact countries. This is a lot of dynamite, and the NATO politicians and military men have every reason to shun the light of the public.

This year the agenda of the meeting on the Bonn Hardthdehe, in the FRG Defense Ministry, contains a number of points which essentially influence the further development of the political and military situation in Europe. The point is the implementation of NATO's missile decision of December 1979 which as a result of the deployment until 1983 of new medium-range nuclear missiles able to hit targets deep in the Soviet Union would have far-reaching consequences for the military balance of forces between West and East.

The director of the Nuclear Planning Group, the American David Martin, reaffirmed prior to the meeting that the time schedule of the stationing would be observed, that opposition to this decision, above all in Belgium and the Netherlands, had, however to be eliminated first. In which way the rearmament strategists intend to do this became clear from another statement made by Martin. The Soviet Union meanwhile had deployed a superior force of medium-range missiles, he claimed, without, however, being able to produce the least evidence.

It is the old formula which also was used by U.S. Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger in his introductory report this morning. According to an advance report by the news agency AP he will give a survey of the potential and readiness of U.S. and USSR nuclear forces. In the light of earlier statements made by the chief of the Pentagon and the priority given to the mad escalation of arms expenditures in U.S. policies, it is not hard to imagine in what colors Weinberger painted the balance of forces between the United States and the USSR, in order to enhance the willingness of the Western Europeans to join the Americans.

The concern of responsible U.S. politicians about the general mood in Western Europe which has shown a clearly stronger tendency recently toward demanding the continuation of detente and disarmament talks, about the policy the smaller NATO states would prefer and about the positive echo the recent Soviet peace proposals have met with also within NATO--this concern is likely to influence Weinberger's appearance at the Nuclear Planning Group Meeting.

This morning hundreds of demonstrators before the Defense Ministry articulated what the European peoples really need. Disarmament, they kept shouting, disarmament! On their banners it said: "No Medium-Range Missiles in Our Country" and "No to the Planning of Genocide in Europe."

#### NATO CRITICIZED FOR REJECTING MORATORIUM PROPOSAL

DW031052 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1348 GMT 2 Apr 81

[Gerhard Boehm commentary: "NATO Intrigues Against a Moratorium Proposal"]

[Text] This week, NATO's special consultative group met in Brussels. It allegedly was set up for the purpose of including and consulting the West European NATO partners in the preparations for the Soviet-American negotiations on nuclear medium-range missiles in Europe. The impression, however, is gained that this special consultative group does not want to prepare but rather delay or even obstruct such negotiations. Gerhard Boehm comments:

Though only very laconic statements were made after the meeting, the outcome of this latest Brussels meeting can be summed up in three sentences:

First, the participants reiterated their volition of implementing the Brussels missiles decision, that is to say to produce new medium-range missiles and to station them in Western Europe.

Second, they stick to the so-called dual decision, meaning to preparing the stationing while at the same time entering negotiations with the Soviet Union on the so-called Eurostrategic medium-range missiles in Europe.

And third, Leonid Brezhnev's proposal made at the 26th CPSU Congress on a moratorium for these missiles is rejected. And at this point, at the latest, the whole thing becomes questionable. It might perhaps be open to question as to whether the dual decision, that is to say the oft expressed verbal volition for negotiations, is really meant seriously. Doubts to this effect exist since the decision was made. But if it was meant seriously why then is NATO fighting tooth and nail against a proposal which would considerably facilitate such negotiations? What actually is rejected if a moratorium is not desired?

What is behind the term moratorium, after all, is nothing but the proposal to freeze the stock of medium-range weapons in Europe and to renounce stationing of new additional weapons of this type. Unlike a production stop or a reduction of these missiles such a stop does not require complicated negotiations and could become effective immediately. Aren't these extremely favorable prerequisites for future negotiations on reductions? Besides, such a moratorium does not require unilateral arms limitations by any side. Negotiations could be started on the basis of the currently existing approximate balance in the field of nuclear medium-range weapons.

As a matter of fact, however, the Brussels missile decision is based on the very pretext used by Washington and NATO that Soviet superiority existed in this field which, so to speak, would be perpetuated through a moratorium. In this, NATO strategists, however, resort to a simple trick.



While construing an artificial preponderance of the Soviet Union in the field of medium-range missiles, sometimes substantiating it with pointing to the differences in the arms systems--a preponderance that requires the alleged counterarming through the Brussels decision of December 1979--they simply forget the forward-based nuclear weapons of the United States, meaning some 700 aircraft with nuclear bombs stationed on bases or aircraft carriers, 5 Poseidon submarines with 16 missiles each equipped with a maximum of 14 warheads each, let alone the growing nuclear potentials of other West European countries. Is not the USSR threatened by them, too?

Drawing a comparison between medium-range missiles while simultaneously excluding all other nuclear-arms systems in Europe is a deliberate deception of the public. The purpose of the entire maneuver is to provide the United States with an additional nuclear potential of strategic significance through the alleged counterarming with the new medium-range and cruise missiles. This not only would shift the approximate parity of the medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe but at the same time also the military-strategic balance between the USSR and the United States as a whole.

What stands behind the Brussels missile decision and the rejection of the moratorium therefore is nothing but the striving for military superiority with all ensuing consequences, such as creating the prerequisites for a first nuclear strike by the United States, and toying with the illusionary idea of a nuclear war confined to Europe, that is to say enhancing the threat of an atomic inferno.

Is anybody in Washington or Brussels really that naive to assume that the Soviet Union would look on idly by to such a development? The logical consequence would be the restoration of the hitherto existing balance at a higher level of nuclear armament. But more weapons spell less security and a greater risk of nuclear conflict. In the face of such perspectives inherent in NATO's policy it is small wonder that the West European public is ever stronger raising the demand to stand the test at long last and to comply with the Soviet negotiation proposals and above all with the proposal providing for a moratorium.

SED'S MUECKENBERGER REVIEWS 21-25 FEB ALGERIA TRIP

AU041626 East Berlin HORIZONT No 13/1981 pp 3-4

[Interview with Erich Mueckenberger, SED Central Committee Politburo member, on his recent visit to Algeria as head of a SED Central Committee delegation--date and place not given]

[Text] HORIZONT: Recently you visited the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria [DPRA] heading an SED Central Committee delegation. What was the purpose of your visit and how do you assess its importance?

Erich Mueckenberger: Our trip to friendly Algeria took place at the invitation of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front (FLN) in the period 21-25 February 1981. At the same time, we were returning the visit to the GDR of a high-ranking delegation of the FLN in April 1980. Our visit offered both sides an opportunity to continue the long-standing mutually advantageous exchange of opinions and experience regarding national and international problems, an exchange that is being furthered by responsible functionaries of our two parties and states. For example, let me draw attention to the visits to Algeria of SED Central Committee Politburo members Dr Guenter Mittag and Horst Sindermann. Our delegation was received by leading representatives of the FLN and the DPRA for extensive talks, thus by Rabah Bitat, member of the FLN Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the DPRA National People's Assembly, and by Mohamed Cherif Messadia, responsible member of the Standing Secretariat of the FLN Central Committee. Negotiations between the delegations of our two parties were held on several days. The FLN delegation was headed by Slimane Hoffmann, chairman of the Central Committee Commission for International Relations.

These talks were constantly attended, on the Algerian side, by Central Committee members (Lazhari Cheriet) and (Ahmed Sebaa), and on the SED side by Manfred Feist, member of the Central Committee, and by Kurt Seebach, candidate member of the Central Party Control Commission. As the head of our delegation, I had the opportunity to convey to the Algerian party and state leadership the most cordial greetings of the SED Central Committee and its general secretary, Erich Honecker.

These greetings were most cordially returned on behalf of Chadli Bendjedid, DPRA president and FLN general secretary.

The attention being paid in Algeria to our country, the socialist GDR, and to its leading force, the SED, is also shown by the fact that in addition to the important official talks, our delegation had a number of other meetings with ministers, Central Committee members and other responsible FLN functionaries both at the central and regional level. At these meetings, especially with FLN Central Committee members, we noticed our Algerian comrades' strong interest in continuing the exchange of opinions and experience with the SED in all social sectors. We particularly highly appreciated the fact that we were given the opportunity to familiarize ourselves with the achievements of the Algerian people scored under the leadership of the FLN in implementing the national charter and the decisions of the FLN congresses in various social fields. And indeed, great things have already been accomplished since liberation from the colonial yoke. The Algerian comrades are following with interest the building of the developed socialist society in the GDR, as well as the comprehensive preparations for the 10th SED Congress. On this occasion it turned out that the Algerian side is highly interested in our experiences. This is also reflected in the daily reporting on our delegation's visit in the Algerian mass media.

HORIZONT: Could you describe in a little greater detail the content of your talks with the leading FLN representatives?

Erich Mueckenberger: With great pleasure. First of all, it can be said that, as is customary among friends, we had a very openminded and interesting discussion about basic problems of our era, especially about the building of socialism in the GDR and in the DPRA, a discussion ranging as far as questions on the implementation and deepening of the leading role of the party in all sectors of social life in our countries.

But our discussion also included questions of developing socialist democracy, problems of the proportions between industry and agriculture, the ratio between sectors I and II in industry, and many other questions of interest to both sides. In these discussions we were again and again impressed by the openmindedness and trust that was displayed by our Algerian friends when they talked at every meeting about problems concerning them, and when they manifested their interest in GDR experiences in building the developed socialist society. In these talks, those aspects in our relations were stressed that are of common interest to us, and that link us. Thus I remember with pleasure the meeting with Comrade Rabah Bitat, chairman of the Algerian Parliament, who repeatedly underscored these common interest between Algeria and the GDR. He stressed that Algeria regards the GDR as a loyal ally in its struggle for peace in the world and in building socialism in his country. President Bitat described how the Algerian people, under the leadership of the FLN, are devoting all their strength to peace and democracy. This is not so easy, he said, particularly because the DPRA to this day still has to solve great problems stemming from the heritage left behind by colonialism and its exploitation and oppression. It is in order to quickly overcome this heritage that our experience and cooperation with the GDR are needed, he said.

In the talks with us it was repeatedly stressed that Algeria had found faithful friends and allies in the difficult times of national liberation struggle, among them last but not least the GDR.

The Algerians said that they gladly remembered the solidarity displayed by the GDR toward the Algerian people a long time before its victory, and that this was something the Algerian people would never forget. This solidarity has also essentially contributed to Algeria's successfully attaining, by its own efforts, the goals it set for itself to this day. As a result, the economic basis of the country has grown to a reputable size, and meanwhile--as Rabah Bitat said, specifically mentioning GDR aid--a stock of sound and qualified cadres has been raised. He stated that it could not be valued highly enough that a gratuitous compulsory school system was introduced in the country--and here I would like to add that we were able to convince ourselves of this in Algeria. It is true that much is done there for the people's education. This holds particularly true for the relationship of the party and government with the Algerian youth.

Our delegation had a similarly profound talk with Mohamed Cherif Messadia, responsible member of the Standing Secretariat of the FLN Central Committee. Comrade Messadia repeatedly stressed that the Algerian people very precisely and party-mindedly distinguishes between its enemies and friends. Particularly in Africa, where Algeria was the first country to choose the socialist path after its liberation struggle, there is relatively little experience in the struggle for building socialism. Hence the Algerian people still have to gather a multitude of experience on their path from a purely agrarian country to an industrialized society. At the same time, it is necessary to learn from the experience of other countries, including those of the GDR. Algeria's clear and irrefutable option for socialism requires an unequivocal domestic and foreign political orientation. This is why Algeria is interested in good relations especially with the socialist countries, because the DPRA party and state leadership knows exactly how important it is to defend the country's progressive development against our common enemy, imperialism, and its neocolonialist intentions, he said. We were also agreed--and that is proved by the current exacerbated confrontation course of imperialism--that high vigilance and readiness to defend the achievements of socialism continue to be necessary.

A broad agreement of views was also noted during the discussions with our Algerian partners on international questions. This can also be seen from the joint communique. The questions and problems discussed covered a wide field. They range from historical achievements of the peoples in the struggle against imperialism and for socialism, national liberation and social progress; the role of the community of socialist states and of the movement of nonaligned countries, in which Algeria plays an important role, to the need to even better unite our joint forces so as to counter still more resolutely the imperialist policy of aggression and confrontation. This is why the communique expresses the full unanimity with the Algerian comrades about the need to work jointly and consistently to eliminate all hotbeds of tension, to consolidate the process of detente and for a purposeful disarmament policy, as well as to resolutely resist the endeavors of imperialism to constantly touch off and fan new conflicts, and to strengthen the peoples' struggle for political, economic and social liberation and independence. We jointly welcomed all progress that was and is being achieved in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism by the national liberation movements in Africa, Asia and Latin America. We were agreed that the growth of the imperialist military potential in the Indian Ocean, Gulf and Red Sea regions conjures up new dangers for all peoples and causes serious concern among all progressive forces. Nor were there any differences of opinion between us regarding the need for active solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian people, the people of South Africa and of other regions. In the talks with the Algerian comrades we arrived at the firm conviction that a still closer rallying of the forces of socialism and of all progressive democratic forces in the world is needed in the struggle against the intensified confrontation course of the imperialist forces, and in the interest of safeguarding peace and security.

**HORIZONT:** Did the delegation also have an opportunity to go to the countryside and have talks at enterprises or local communities?

Erich Mueckenberger: Of course, and we are very grateful to our Algerian hosts for this. During its stay in the DPRA our delegation not only met with representatives of the FLN in Algiers but also had the opportunity to visit the Medea regional unit. In its capital of Medea, which has about 40,000 inhabitants, we talked with leading representatives of regional industry and agriculture.

We also visited the working people of the (Berrouaghia) fittings combine. The plant was constructed with GDR assistance. Today it is an important enterprise for supplying the Algerian natural gas and oil industry. On our tour through the various production sectors, we got a good idea of the comprehensive production program which includes above all pumps and industrial fittings. We had cordial and friendly talks with Algerian working people. Moreover, we had the opportunity to visit the socialist village of (Rebaia Soummam) which numbers about 7,000 inhabitants. There we could convince ourselves of the enormous efforts and endeavors in the progressive transformation of living conditions in the countryside. This visit vividly demonstrated the ardent patriotism of the people of the new Algeria. We felt their creative energy, their optimism and their trust in the victory of the revolution.

HORIZONT: How will the visit of the delegation, headed by you, affect the further development of relations between our two parties and states?

Erich Mueckenberger: Of course, I am not in a position to outline that extensively. But proceeding from our meetings in the Medea regional unit I want to say that stable cooperation between our parties, states and peoples has developed over decades, this development will continue.

We view that as the expression of the joint successful work of our parties and countries. We view that as the expression of joint interests of GDR enterprises and Algeria's national companies, such as the (Berrouaghia) fittings combine we visited. I could also mention the finishing rolls and wire mill plant in the (El Hadjor) metallurgical combine, or the steel and cast-iron foundry in (Tiaret), or the (Biskra) cable works and many other plants. All these production projects, which are of great importance for Algeria's development, are now being constructed.

One also has to mention that in the DPRA a great number of GDR specialists are working together with Algerian working people in constructing large-scale industrial projects. The comradely and dynamic development of cooperation in economy, trade, science, technology and culture was given important stimuli by the signing of a number of long-term agreements on 17 October 1977, and by the agreement on economic cooperation between the two countries concluded in March 1980. As our Algerian partners informed us, they are now intensively preparing for the next meeting of the joint commission in May 1981, at which further decisions on the development of economic relations will be adopted.

In the joint communique which was agreed upon at the conclusion of our delegation's visit, both sides stressed that the talks in Algeria have contributed to further consolidating friendship and deepening mutual understanding, and that they are an important step toward expanding cooperation between our two parties, peoples and states. The leading representatives of the FLN stressed in their talks with us that they view the party relations as an essential part of overall relations between our states. With great satisfaction they have accepted the invitation to send a FLN delegation to the 10th party congress. They assessed that as an opportunity for a further qualified continuation of the existing good and developed relations between the two parties, and promised to send a high-ranking delegation to the SED Congress. The participation of this FLN delegation in the 10th SED Congress--as Mohamed Cherif Messadia, head of the permanent Secretariat of the FLN Central Committee, stressed--will offer another good opportunity for continuing the exchange of views and experience between our two parties to the benefit and advantage of our peoples and all progressive forces.



'AGENT' OF SCHUETZ GANG SENTENCED IN BERLIN

AU031256 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Apr 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On 31 March the Berlin City court sentenced Magdalena Saurin-Rohrbeck from Berlin (West), agent of the criminal Schuetz gang, to 4 years imprisonment for crimes under section 105 of the penal code.

The agent, accomplice and close friend of the professional criminal Albert Schuetz, the leader of the gang which is known to the court, intensively participated in preparing and implementing subversive actions against the GDR. Following her orders she also abused the territories of other countries for ganglike-organized crimes. At the main trial it was proved that this criminal association operating from West Berlin organizes and implements its subversive actions with direct connivance and encouragement by the West Berlin authorities. The gang is actively supported by the Springer Publishing House and by the so-called "Hartmann Bund." Schuetz, who has several previous convictions, forged a number of diplomatic passports of the GDR, the Republic of Finland, the Republic of Austria and the Republic of Cuba, which badly affected the reputation and the work of diplomats and disturbed intergovernmental relations. At the beginning of March a West Berlin court of lay assessors sentenced Schuetz only to a minimum penalty on probation, although he was found guilty of numerous subversive crimes against the GDR and "the continued preparation for forging official identity cards." During this trial he could undisturbedly commit other crimes involving the use of forged passports of the Republic of Cuba and violations of the legal order of socialist countries. In the main trial this was confirmed by the evidence of the agent Saurin-Rohrbeck who, following her orders, had participated in these crimes.

WEST BERLIN RESIDENT VIOLATES GDR STATE BORDER

AU031232 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Apr 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On 31 March 1981 a woman violated the GDR state border in the Nauen area, Potsdam Bezirk. She was detained. She did not have any identity papers with her. According to her own statements she is Karla Erdmann, resident of Berlin (West). In order to examine the woman's identity and the details of the border violation she was handed over to the GDR organs in charge.

NAUMANN VISITS BERLIN MACHINE-TOOLS COMBINE

LD042240 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1605 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Excerpt] In the parent enterprise of the Veb Werkzeug Maschinenkombinat 7 October in Berlin-Weissensee the first section of rationalized micromechanics [kleinmechanik] today was put into operation. Konrad Naumann, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk Executive, was cordially welcomed as a guest on this occasion. The achievements by the works collective in competition to mark the 10th party congress include a 1-day plan lead.

CENTRAL AUDITING COMMISSION APPROVES DRAFT REPORT

LD062120 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1604 GMT 6 Apr 81

[Text] Berlin, 6 Apr (ADN)--The SED Central Auditing Commission held its 27th meeting on Monday. It confirmed the draft of the report to be given by the Central Auditing Commission to the 10th SED Congress.

PUJA RETURNS TO BUDAPEST AFTER TALKS IN MOSCOW

LD081034 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 8 Apr 81

[Text] Having concluded his Moscow discussions Foreign Minister Frigyes Puja has returned to Budapest. In the Soviet capital he was awarded the "Friendship of Peoples" order of merit. A joint communique was adopted on Frigyes Puja's visit and talks with Andrey Gromyko. It will be published later.

FALUVEGI INTERVIEWED ON SIXTH 5-YEAR PLAN

LD041920 Budapest MTI in English 0605 GMT 4 Apr 81

[Text] Budapest, 4 Apr (MTI)--"We continue the economic policy outlined in 1978 and approved by the 12th Congress of the HSWP. Certain stresses have since become even more poignant: efficiency and profitability of the economy, the desire of an equilibrium, the role of the circumstantial and human factors of the enterprising spirit," said Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister Lajos Faluvegi in an interview with MACYAR HIRLAP on the 6th Five-Year Plan. The interview is carried by the April 4 special issue of the daily.

Faluvegi went on to say: "Last year industrial production was much more moderate than before, and tough autumn and winter weathers sent up considerably the costs of harvest. Still the equilibrium of our foreign economy continued to improve."

"We have met another obligation by keeping up the attained living standard," he added and pointed out later: "There are many promising initial results but there are warning signs as well." For example, "the prices of energy carriers and raw materials went up on the world market which call [as received] for a commodity base which can be sold at favourable terms. At the same time some large enterprises of our industry have difficulties in exploiting their capacities profitably."

In connection with the slow-down in the pace of economic growth he explained: "The foreign economic equilibrium has improved, the domestic market supply is acceptable, we do not store unsold goods and have not been compelled to freeze important running investment projects. All these indicate that we have switched over to a slower pace of development without any major damage." He added: "There is no doubt about that either that the more complicated phase of the course modification is just to come."

Turning to questions of foreign economy the deputy prime minister explained, among other things, that in the past two years non-rouble trade has approached the state of balance which favourably affected the payment balance too. "The growth of our stock of debts has practically stopped. We shall continue to meet punctually our installment and interest paying obligations on the credits we have raised," he stressed.

Lajos Faluvegi then spoke about the utilization of the national income. He explained that in the former five-year plan term "we consumed 76 per cent of it, the envisage [as received] now is 81 to 83 per cent, meaning that the proportion of accumulation will shrink to 17-19 per cent." The cause of this, he said, is that "the real value of the income to be used for consumption and accumulation may only grow by 3 to 5 per cent. The living standard can only be preserved and harmony kept up between purchasing power and commodity base if we raise the consumption fund of the national income by 7 to 9 per cent. These all show perceptibly that it is not by reducing consumption that we intend to restore the balance but through more efficient work. In the event if, however, the planned improvement of efficiency failed to set in, we should be compelled to cut the growth of consumption."

Lajos Faluvegi went on to explain that "the social debate of the 6th Five-Year Plan has shown that our economic problems do not narrow the process of political and social democratization, on the contrary they broaden it." He expressed the conviction that "the economic policy can prove a cohesive power even if it sets complicated goals and puts greater requirements."

Discussing long-term planning he said that viewed in the long run "it seems much more so that the key question of our economic development will be whether we shall manage to tackle our energy problems." Lajos Faluvegi said that the worldwide forecast tendencies of energetics must be followed in Hungary too--and this is also what the 6th Five Year Plan prompts. Under the heading of so called global problems the deputy prime minister spoke about world food supply and stated that in this respect "we shall have to make even better use of our favourable endowments." "Many-sided development and improvement of our industrial economic relations enjoy ever greater import in the meeting of our economic development tasks. At better adjustment to the developed world political and world economic conditions, the significance of the cooperation with the CMEA countries and with the Soviet Union in the first place is growing. However, the mere existence of the CMEA does not spare us from the global problems which every country of the world must face. Cooperation, as was pointed out also at the 26th Congress of the CPSU, can develop further on the basis of mutual advantages," said in conclusion Lajos Faluvegi.

#### PARLIAMENT TO CONVENE 16 APR FOR DISCUSSIONS

LD032100 Budapest MTI in English 1743 GMT 3 Apr 81

[Text] Budapest, 3 Apr (MTI)--On the strength of par. 22 indent 2 of the Constitution, the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic has convened parliament to 1100 a.m. on April 16, 1981. The government suggests that parliament discuss the bill on modification and unification of the text of Act No. 4 of 1957 on the general rules of state administration procedure, as well as the report by the president of the National Bank of Hungary on the activity of the bank in the 5th Five-Year Plan period.

#### OIL, GAS PRODUCTION AT ALGYO FIELDS CURTAILED

WA081616 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 29 Mar 81 p 6

[Excerpts] The output of the hydrocarbon fields of Algyo will decrease by 8.6 percent in 1981 as compared with that of 1980. Aladar Juratovics, manager of the Szeged plant of the Great Plains Petroleum and Natural Gas Extracting Enterprise, states that in 1981 there will be 64,000 tons less petroleum, 450 million cubic meters less natural gas and 27,000 tons less of various gas products than were produced during the preceding year.

The supply of oil is becoming depleted, and as pressure from the wells drops, there is an increasing amount of water. At Algyo, 1.3 out of a total of 2.5 million cubic meters of liquid brought to the surface is water. Part of the production equipment has to be used to separate water from oil and return the water to the soil. Efforts are being made to recover oil which clings to sandstone through use of chemicals. Pumping ethane into the wells appears to be helpful. The manager states that although more oil could be extracted, this would lead to premature exhaustion of reserves. At present Algyo accounts for 75 percent of the nation's oil production; in 5 years it must still account for 65 percent. A reduced rate of production can be justified in the case of natural gas as well. Due to energy conservation measures, more coal and thermal water are being used. Like the oil wells, the gas wells are becoming watery, and it is increasingly difficult to bring gas to the surface. The manager would like to discontinue the practice of burning off ethane from the wells along with the methane and provide the chemical industry with the former for production of ethylene.

At present 1,600 persons work at the Algyo hydrocarbon fields which extend from Kelebia to Ferencszallas. This basin supplies approximately 25 percent of the hydrocarbons used in the nation even today.

NEWSPAPERS COMMENT ON BREZHNEV SPEECH IN PRAGUE

## ZYCIE WARSZAWY Comment

LD080940 Warsaw PAP in English 0834 GMT 8 Apr 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Apr (PAP)--Commenting on the speech delivered yesterday by Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev at the 16th CPC Congress ZYCIE WARSZAWY's commentator stressed that "Leonid Brezhnev has again showed his farsightedness in the evaluation of the complex processes under way in Poland, the countries of the socialist community and all over Europe.

"In Prague, we welcome the confirmation of the Soviet Union's readiness to matter-of-fact, constructive talks on problems most topical and most important for the consolidation of peace. The Soviet Union is ready to launch them without any prerequisites and on any level," the daily wrote.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY's correspondents in Prague wrote that "to us Poles and to the whole socialist community an extremely important element in the Soviet statesman's speech was the confirmation the conviction that, with the support of true patriots, Polish communists can counter the actions of enemies of socialism, who are at the same time enemies of independent Poland, and can defend the cause of socialism, the genuine interests and honour of their nation."

## TRYBUNA LUDU Views Remarks

LD081138 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0930 GMT 8 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 8 Apr (PAP)--Analyzing the work of the second day at the 16th Czechoslovak Communist Party Congress, TRYBUNA LUDU correspondents draw attention to the speech made by Leonid Brezhnev, head of the CPSU delegation.

The Soviet leader spoke as a consistent champion of peace, confirming once again and eloquently justifying his peace initiatives which were announced at the 26th CPSU Congress. His repeated proposal that the existing situation regarding medium-range missiles in Europe should be preserved, above all, without any qualitative or quantitative changes, and which should be used as a starting point for any further agreements in the matter of disarmament, resounded resolutely. This speech is another patient, repeated invitation to the roundtable without any prerequisites, an invitation to talks and to a constructive dialogue between East and West in the name of peace throughout the world.

For us, the TRYBUNA LUDU correspondents write, the section of the speech touching on Polish issues is also important. It contains political and moral support for Polish communists and all Polish patriots striving to overcome our country's present difficult problems in a spirit of socialist principles and in accordance with the people's interests. L. Brezhnev's expressed confidence that our party, together with the other patriotic forces, will successfully resolve this extraordinarily difficult task, was greeted with applause.

The significance of the friendly political and economic efforts by all countries of the socialist community, the significance of the development of equal and mutually advantageous cooperation between them--an idea which resounded loudly in the speech made by the Soviet leader--was also characteristic of the speeches made by other congress guests and the leaders of party delegations from Poland, the GDR and Hungary. They expressed the conviction that the unity of our parties and countries is particularly valuable in today's world political and economic situation.

PZPR POLITBURO DISCUSSES CONGRESS, NEXT PLENUM

LD081700 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] A session of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo was held today. Here is a comment by Jerzy Malczynski:



[Malczynski] Shortly after the session ended Kazimierz Barcikowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, informed a group of reporters about what went on at the session. The plan of the activities of the Politburo and the whole party after the ninth plenum and the preparations for the 10th Central Committee plenum were the main topic of today's session. The 10th plenum is to be held in the last 10 days of April. It will be devoted to the direct preparations for the congress. The program provisions for the ninth extraordinary party congress will be examined and passed.

As you are aware, ladies and gentlemen, consultations over the draft drawn up by the Congress Commission are in progress at present at large factories. The exact date of the congress will adopted at the plenum and the representation norms will be established in order that organizations can carry out elections based on these norms.

[Word indistinct] (?Before the holiday), on 16 April, the Congress Commission will meet. Its deliberations will be given over to a discussion of the draft of a new party statute. Party organizations from various milieus have made an important contribution to its preparation, as have individual party members, sending to the commission entire drafts of the statute or proposals for specific solutions.

The drafts which are coming in to the Congress Commission contain many original solutions and all are linked by the idea of aiming at introducing into the statute guarantees of democratization of intraparty life.

The Politburo, considering the plan of action for the immediate future, focused its main attention on specific measures which will express the attitude of the party leadership to socialist renewal and on the dangers threatening that renewal, of which the vital need to combat conservative and [word indistinct] forces is in the forefront. Specific measures will give approval for the solution of social conflicts by political methods, with a clear definition of the limits of compromise, which are: the principles of the system of government, the leading role of the party and faithfulness to allies.

Particular attention will be devoted to strengthening the Marxist-Leninist character of the PZPR, with a simultaneous need for changes in the statute and a vital need to reform the functioning of the party, in accordance with the program assumptions of the ninth congress.

There will continue to be meetings with members of the leadership in workplaces and there will also be conferences and meetings of secretaries of works committees of large enterprises.

In connection with the approaching 1 May holiday, it was decided to invite all trade unions and all social forces--in a word, all working people--to a joint celebration of the holiday of the working class. It is expected that this year's celebrations will, as in the past, be a manifestation of the unity of all working people, all those who, by their effort, want to help the homeland to get out of the difficult situation and create sound foundations for further development.

#### Further on Politburo Meeting

LD080458 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 8 Apr 81

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Politburo held a session in Warsaw. Preparations for the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and for the forthcoming holiday of working people--1 May--were discussed. The Politburo agreed to hold the 10th plenum in the last 10 days of April and that the plenum will mark the commencement of preparations for the ninth extraordinary party congress.

It is assumed that the plenum will adopt program documents which are currently being discussed in voivodship organizations and major workplaces.

The Congress Commission will hold a session on 16 April. The commission will discuss, among other things, the course and results of discussions held so far on the draft of a new party statute.

The Politburo has adopted a plan for party activities after the ninth Central Committee plenum. The plan takes into account discussions held in the party to date. The document emphasizes, among other things, the need to demonstrate unity in the whole party concerning matters of fundamental importance for our country, such as the socialist renewal which provides for resolving social conflicts solely by political methods.

Speaking of preparations for the 1 May holiday, Kazimierz Barcikowski stated during his meeting with journalists that the point is to make 1 May a festive day; we will arrive at a proper form in which to celebrate it through agreements. We appeal to all trade unions and social forces and invite them to jointly participate in the holiday, to put forward everything that is connected with workers' traditions and our unity on that day.

#### REPORT ON PREPARATIONS FOR NINTH PARTY CONGRESS

LD071338 Warsaw PAP in English 0800 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Apr (PAP)--Preparations for the 9th PUWP Congress are becoming more advanced every day. Working teams of the Congress Commission and also pre-(congress) missions and teams functioning in [words indistinct] voivodships, many cities, rural communities and factories are operating in full swing. The number of PUWP voivodship organizations which have already announced a time-table of the reporting and electoral campaign in PUWP links is growing. Along with universal personal talks with individual PUWP members, this campaign will be the most important stage of preparations for the 9th congress.

At present, PUWP organizations in factories and institutions, where the discussion on drafts of documents for the congress has been virtually going on for many weeks, bear the brunt of these preparations. Most of the proposals and postulates, forwarded during this discussion have already reached congress commissions and PUWP authorities on various levels. A great number of local proposals have already been used and implemented. New proposals [words indistinct] put forth whose substance (?stems from) the social, political and economic situation and from concrete problems pervading individual PUWP organizations, professional milieu and PUWP members. A lot of attention is paid to tasks flowing from resolutions of the 9th PUWP CC plenary meeting.

Proposals forwarded by members of PUWP organizations in the Walbrzych Voivodship reflect determination to implement all-round renewal of the party and to restore the leading role in the socio-political life to the PUWP. Workers at the Swidnica wagons factory point to the need for departing from combining party and administrative functions. PUWP members from the Walbrzych mine stress the necessity of maintaining everyday and close ties with mining crews by employees of the party apparatus. Postulates presented by the PUWP basic organizations in the Wroclaw Voivodship concern various areas of functioning of Poland, living conditions of the Poles and intra-party problems. Mention should be made of a proposal to ensure genuine representation of youth on all levels of the PUWP authorities. The (?proposal says) that young people should no longer be treated as an element adding splendour to various ceremonies and official meetings.

#### CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER GAJEWSKI ON NINTH PLENUM

AU071521 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 31 Mar 81 pp 1, 5

[Marek Orzechowski report: "Tell Us the Truth--Central Committee member Zygmunt Gajewski Reports on the Ninth Central Committee Plenum Debates"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] AT 0600 HOURS ON MONDAY, ZYGMUNT GAJEWSKI, WHO WORKS AS A SMELTER IN THE WARSZAWA METALLURGICAL COMBINE, ARRIVED AT HIS HOME FROM THE NINTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM DEBATES.

SOME 7 HOURS LATER HE MET WITH A LARGE GROUP OF THE PARTY AKTIVS OF THE COMBINE TO TELL THEM A LITTLE MORE ABOUT THE DEBATES THAN COULD BE FOUND IN THE OFFICIAL REPORTS. TOO MUCH HOPE HAD BEEN ATTACHED TO THE NINTH PLENUM AND THE COUNTRY'S SITUATION IS TOO TENSE FOR THE WORKERS NOT TO ASK HIM THE QUESTIONS ALL POLAND IS ASKING.

Your reporter listened to the voices of old party members of the combine and took down the answers given by Zygmunt Gajewski, who joined the party 37 years ago and who during the plenum represented the views of the many thousands of Warsaw steel workers, also members of the party. WHAT WAS THAT PLENUM REALLY? DID IT FULFILL THE EXPECTATIONS OF THE PARTY BASES?

The plenum was dominated at all times by an atmosphere of seriousness, Zygmunt Gajewski said, seriousness and concern. But most speeches were sharp and raised the issue of purging the party ranks from top to bottom and of convening an extraordinary party congress as soon as possible. Many members also referred to Stefan Bratkowski's letter, saying that he had helped to disrupt the party. Some comrades decided that Editor Bratkowski was superfluous in party ranks and the Congress Commission and his case was handed over to the Central Party Control Commission.

WE HAVE HEARD THAT SOME COMRADES WANTED TO GIVE UP PARTY FUNCTIONS, someone asked from the floor. WHO ARE THEY AND WHY DID THEY WANT TO GIVE UP?

Indeed. It was Comrades Olszowski, Grabski and Ney. They tendered their resignations to the Central Committee but the plenum agreed to the proposal made by Comrade Szymanski from Wloclawek that unity should be preserved.

DID THEY AGREE TO IT UNANIMOUSLY?

One person abstained and one was against. All the other members were for the proposal.

HOW DID THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS ACCEPT THAT RESIGNATION, OR THE PROMISE OF RESIGNATION, FROM THOSE FOUR COMRADES? ZYGMUNT, TELL US THE TRUTH HOW IT WAS....

It is difficult for me to answer that question. As for the general atmosphere in view of the hoped-for changes, well, we generally expected more. Submitting his proposal, Szymanski said that the situation of the country was very serious and that the party should be united.

WHAT WAS DECIDED ABOUT TALKS WITH SOLIDARITY?

Well, General Jaruzelski is going to essentially take over in that regard. The plenum stressed once again that it is necessary to talk at the table and that there must be no confrontation. The Central Committee's position on that is unchanged. But the party authorities are unable to say what will happen next and what it will be like tomorrow.

DID THE PLENUM ADOPT OTHER RESOLUTIONS THAN THOSE PUBLISHED?

No.

WHAT ABOUT THE INSTRUCTION FOR RAKOWSKI? THEY WERE TALKING ABOUT SOME PARTY POWERS FOR HIM.

The Central Committee passed no resolutions in that regard. There were no instructions and no instructions were approved.

WHAT ABOUT THE CONGRESS? DID THE PLENUM QUESTION THE NEW POSTPONEMENT OF THE CONGRESS? YOU KNOW THAT THE BASE WAS ASKING FOR THE CONGRESS TO BE HELD AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

It will be held by 20 July. The 10th plenum will decide on the precise date.

BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATIONS MADE VERY SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR THE NINTH PLENUM. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE TOOK A CERTAIN POSITION AND NO OTHER, AND WE KNOW WHAT IT IS. DO YOU THINK YOU ARE RIGHT WITH REGARD TO US?

To some extent, yes.

DID THEY READ BRATKOWSKI'S LETTER AT THE PLENUM?

No, but they all know it.

WHERE FROM?

It was distributed everywhere.

PEOPLE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE PLENUM RESOLUTION DOES NOT MIRROR ALL THAT TOOK PLACE IN IT.

I think that it mirrors it in main outlines.

WHO DRAFTED THE RESOLUTION?

Over 20 people, workers included. The resolution commission was chaired by Comrade Barcikowski.

DID THEY PUT QUESTIONS TO POLITBURO MEMBERS? QUESTIONS LIKE WHY THEY DO NOT GO TO THE PEOPLE? WHY THEY DO NOT TALK WITH THEM? WHY THEY ARE ABSENT FROM THE WORKFORCES DURING STRIKES? THOSE IN POWER HAVE GONE TO GROUND. HOW DID THE PLENUM EVALUATE THE POLITBURO'S STATEMENT, FOLLOWING THE BYDGOSZCZ EVENTS? DOES THE POLITBURO HOLD ITS DEBATES IN A DEMOCRATIC MANNER? YOU HAVE A LOT OF QUESTIONS TO ANSWER, ZYGMUNT.

We talked about Politburo sessions. The exchanges at the Politburo sessions are sharp, but agreement is the outward show. As for the participation of the Politburo and the Central Committee apparatus in meetings, the basic party organization did not authorize me [to speak of that]. I spoke about it in my speech. I am critical of it and many comrades are as well. Bydgoszcz: We were decidedly critical of the beatings. We take the view that such incidents cannot take place in our country. It was a tragic moment. As for the occupation of the hall in the voivodship office building, the plenum said that it was lawlessness and that the law was on the side of the authorities. The action was not entirely correct but it was said that Bydgoszcz was not at all the cause of what we are now experiencing. The forces that want to have us at loggerheads rely on sources other than domestic sources.

THE POLITBURO HELD A SESSION DURING THE PLENUM ZYGMUNT, DO YOU THINK THAT THE MOST IMPORTANT DECISIONS WERE MADE DURING JUST THAT SESSION?

Yes, I think so.

IF SO, THEN DO YOU NOT THINK THAT WHILE YOU WERE DISCUSSING THINGS AT THE PLENUM BETWEEN 1000 AND 1800 HOURS, THE POLITBURO MADE DECISIONS FOR YOU?

The ninth plenum was different from the previous one. At the previous plenum speeches were made by a worker, then by a secretary and then by someone else. At the ninth plenum, speeches were made from all over Poland. As I told you, the atmosphere was serious and as the hours ticked by, we became firmer and firmer in recognizing the arguments presented by Szymanski, who appealed for unity.

WHAT ABOUT THE PARTICIPATION IN POLITBURO WORK OF WORKERS FROM THE LARGEST FACTORIES?

The Politburo will take a stand on that proposal.

BUT THAT WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THE POLITBURO CANNOT MAKE ANY DECISION IN THAT REGARD!



Well, yes, but proposals must be submitted one after another....

BUT THERE WAS A PROPOSALS COMMITTEE AT THE PLENUM!

Yes, but the proposal was submitted after midnight, at which time the committee did not accept any more proposals.

ZYGMUNT, ONE MORE CANDID QUESTION. DO YOU THINK THAT THE POLITBURO IS CONVINCED THAT PRECISELY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE IS THE HIGHEST AUTHORITY BETWEEN CONGRESSES?

It probably realizes that because the comrades who wanted to resign would not have done it. [as published]

DID THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE COME BACK ONCE AGAIN TO THE STILL UNSETTLED ISSUES OF THE RESPONSIBILITY SHOULDERED BY GIEREK, JAROSZEWICZ, WRZASZCZYK AND OTHERS?

Probably every speaker had those issues in mind, but nothing concrete took place.

ARE THERE PEOPLE IN THE POLITBURO WHO SEEK CONFRONTATION?

Once again the plenum settled that issue in favor of dialogue and accord. The Politburo seeks no confrontation.

WHAT DOES THE PLENUM SAY ABOUT A GENERAL STRIKE AND WHAT DID YOU DO TO SOMEHOW SOLVE THESE PROBLEMS?

We appealed to the authorities and the government--to everyone--to calm down and to reach accord.

COMRADE STEFANIUK, THE LIAISON MAN BETWEEN THE PARTY ORGANIZATION IN THE COMBINE AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND AN OBSERVER AT THE PLENUM, WHO WAS PRESENT AT THIS MEETING, GAVE THIS DESCRIPTION OF THE PLENUM WHEN SPEAKING FROM THE FLOOR:

It was the first plenum during which so much criticism was leveled at the Politburo's work and at the plenum report. Among other things, the Politburo was accused of acting sluggishly on many issues and of failing to work out tactics to anticipate events.

The conflict: It was noticed that two wings seek it--the extremists in Solidarity, who have been identified as the adversaries of the system, and the people within the party.

The following question put from the floor to Zygmunt Gajewski can serve as a postscript to this journalistic report on the meeting:

YOU ARE AMONG US, AKTIVS, BUT YOU SHOULD BE AMONG COMBINE WORKERS. NO ONE IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THE RANK-AND-FILE PARTY MEMBERS AND WORKERS. YOU SHOULD TELL THEM ALL YOU HAVE TOLD US.

I am going to the forge in 30 minutes, Zygmunt Gajewski replied.

#### LOCAL PARTY MEETINGS STILL ASSESSING PZPR PLENUM

LD071720 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 6 Apr 81

[Text] Gdansk-Gdynia, [other elements of dateline not given]--The proceedings of the last PZPR Central Committee plenum, and particularly its decisions, are still the object of critical assessment at party meetings. Things have been no different at the report-back and election conferences in the port of Gdynia, at the Starogard Polfa and at the Dalmor organization. At Dalmor, apart from general party matters in which the delegates supported the assessments and solutions proposed by the pregress commission in Gdansk, much attention was given to the enterprise's internal matters.

A critical assessment was made of the activities of the existing factory PZPR committee. It was accused of not taking into account the views of the rank-and-file party members and of isolating itself from the primary party organization. A demand was made that periodical conferences of the aktiv should be organized in which representatives of the voivodship and central party authorities would take part. Attention was focused mostly on Dalmor's economic situation and it was stressed that the enterprise is in critical shape. Fishing costs are rising, the fleet has aged and it does not look as if it will be quickly replaced. There is a question mark over the participation of Dalmor in certain foreign companies. There exists an urgent need to specify policy in the sphere of deep sea fishing. This was demanded in particular by delegates from vessels. They also pointed to the losses and waste taking place in the fishing industry as a whole and in the enterprise, to administrative excesses and to neglect of duties by certain Dalmor representatives in foreign companies.

Jerzy Gancarz, first officer from the MV Professor Bogucki, has been elected first secretary of the factory PZPR committee. Zbigniew Dule and Jerzy Gancarz have been elected as delegates to the congress.

#### WARSAW WRITERS CRITICIZE PARTY CULTURE PLANS

LD072328 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] The theme of yesterday's meeting of the Warsaw section of the Polish Writer's Union was the matter of the development of Polish literature and culture in the light of the program theses of the Ninth PZPR Congress.

During the discussion it was emphasized that these theses do not provide guarantees for a sufficiently rapid development of culture and its extrication from the present crisis.

Jerzy Waszczuk, candidate Politburo member and secretary of the party Central Committee, stated his views on the problems mentioned at the meeting.

The participants in the meeting also passed by a majority of votes a resolution connected with the open letter written by Stefan Bratkowski.

#### RAKOWSKI VIEWS STRIKE SITUATION, SOLIDARITY, FUTURE

LD080530 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Interview with Polish Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski in Warsaw on 4 April by Budapest Television foreign political editors Sandor Regoes and Gyorgy Balogh--recorded; Rakowski's answers in Polish fading into Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Question] Warsaw, 4 April 1981, Saturday. Poland has lived through extremely difficult days this week. The (?bare) facts: The Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum; the agreement between the government and Solidarity on the suspension of the national general strike; the Solidarity National Consultative Committee's [KKP] decision to cancel the strike and then the strike alert; the premiere of the new [word indistinct] system; the first issue of Solidarity's weekly journal with 500,000 copies. This has been the last week in Poland.

The Polish Government has invited 55-year-old Mieczyslaw Rakowski, PZPR Central Committee member, and chief editor of the Warsaw weekly POLITYKA, who has served as deputy premier for just 6 weeks, to negotiate with Solidarity on behalf of the government. Rakowski is also deputy premier responsible for information. Last week he was working [words indistinct]. At the beginning of this week [words indistinct]. How (?do you assess) this past week from your personal point of view?

[Answer] It was a very difficult week for me personally, and politically, too, for especially on Monday, when I concluded the discussions with Solidarity, I was aware that there was an enormous responsibility upon me. Responsibility, actually, for the country and for its future destiny.

Had the general strike taken place, then it is possible that a completely new chapter would have started in Poland's postwar history and what is more, an incomparably tragic chapter. The weight of responsibility had an enormous effect upon me but in the end, for the time being, all ended well.

[Question] Taking the present situation into consideration, how do you [words indistinct] the relations of the government and Solidarity? What are you striving for and what would you like to avoid?

[Answer] First of all, I would like to start by saying that in the last few days in Poland there was a large degree of [words indistinct] in the political situation. I would say that people have returned to almost normal conditions. The decision to suspend the general strike was very favorably received. The possibilities are being created for us to adopt a policy whose objective is the normalization of relations, and in general the normalization of the situation in Poland. This normalization, naturally, does not only depend on us but also on Solidarity. What is more, it depends not only on Solidarity, but on all the [word indistinct] organizations, and in the last resort on all the social and political organizations and in no small measure on the mass information media. In a word, in answer to the question: How do I conceive our relations with Solidarity? I can answer that Solidarity is only a part of a bigger whole in which it plays a very big, perhaps major role. Solidarity is only a part of the whole trade union movement.

But that is not the only force upon which normalization and social [word indistinct] depend in Poland. The point is, simply, that I would like it if, in the relations between the government and Solidarity, this idea becomes accepted, even if not immediately, by Solidarity, that they accept it as a political necessity. Then, of course, every difficult conflict, that is, disputed issue, is soluble, in the spirit of compromise through discussions.

But I would like to add to this my own observation. [Words indistinct] the authority on one side and Solidarity on the other. In such a situation it is inconceivable that an era of normal relations should arrive in Poland. Because if Solidarity defends the working classes, the real interests of the workers, in that case it cannot be just one of the sides since the concept of a side denotes not so much a partnership, the relationship of partners, but rather opponents, that of opponents. That is, the relations of those who have no common views, in this case in connection with (?the country's most important) economic, political and social problems.

In my opinion, the concept of sides [words indistinct]. Cooperation must after all develop, as well as mutual [word indistinct], and above all the basic principle must come into being that the objectives of authority, the people's authority, and of Solidarity, are identical. If this basic principle does not make itself felt then the contradictions which will again and again [words indistinct], will have a permanent [word indistinct].

[Question] What role was played in this process by the joint commission, the setting up of which the government proposed to Solidarity on 3d January?

[Answer] This joint commission can be one of the forums at which, in the first phase, we can bring our positions closer together. Another point of view is that this can make it possible for us to review calmly, I stress, calmly, those problems which have accumulated among the population and which trouble the working class, the workers. This would be the second phase, which is not yet here today because our discussion partners within Solidarity unfortunately continue to take an antagonistic stand against me, or vis-a-vis the representatives of the government and the people's authority. I would like to say that a lot of time has to pass before Solidarity becomes an authentic trade union movement. We would like it, and I would also like it personally, if this force, the authentic trade union movement, already existed. There is a need for this force.

[Question] At the discussions with Solidarity, what are the limits of the government's concessions?

[Answer] These limits are marred by the economic situation and the political situation. Generally, one could say that in the economic field we can not undertake obligations or promises which we cannot fulfill. Our possibilities in the economic field are extremely restricted. However, as far as the political field is concerned, there the limits are primarily defined by the interests of socialism in the widest sense, our system of alliances, the party's leading role; that is all the basic principles which figure in the integral part of Solidarity's basic rules, as well as in our Constitution.

The problem's essence is that in practice none of these points may be infringed. Yet these principles are frequently violated, not always out of ill will or as a conscious action, but from ignorance, because certain Solidarity representatives find it difficult to distinguish between political acts which violate Poland's fundamental interests and those acts which do not violate these interests. We too, when we analyze Solidarity's statements, have to separate those manifestations which are dictated by emotions, by political immaturity--for we often face such cases, such political immaturity--from those which are calculated, behind which there is a deliberate organization. If, for example--I have already spoke about this in public, too--in one of Solidarity's plant newspapers there appear brutal attacks against party members, even mentioning the gallows, then of course I can not describe these as manifestations dictated by emotions, or as stupidity, but only as a deliberate, anticommunist action.

[Question] In your opinion, in your position, could you analyze the power relations within Solidarity?

[Answer] Of course I can do this. But in my opinion what is taking place within Solidarity must be their affair. For that reason, no one should be able to reproach us by saying that we want to direct these processes. We do not do this in any way. If anybody, my colleagues or ministers, tried to do this, I would oppose it immediately. As for what is going on within Solidarity, my opinion is that there had to come about the stratification which occurred at the session of the [KKP] in Gdansk. This was an objective necessity. For this movement developed largely spontaneously, although even in the first period certain elements of organization already showed themselves, but generally it was an instinctive movement. As usual, such spontaneous movements are joined by different people, people with different outlooks and different political views, with different ambitions.

If we wanted to characterize the different leaders of Solidarity, then often their biographies would already tell us why they are so aggressive, or why others are less aggressive. Very many factors play a role here. The assembly of these people with different outlooks, different political views, different ambitions, united in the first phase of Solidarity's development when Solidarity wanted to signal its existence in the Polish political and social life. But when taking stands on the issue of large-scale problems came on the agenda, then stratification had to take place, as well as the movement's differentiation.

[Question] Six months ago you said on Hungarian television that a key issue is whether Solidarity should represent not only the protection of interests but that it should also accept co-responsibility for leadership. Earlier you said here in Poland that it will be seen whether Solidarity is a trade union or something else. How do you see these issues today?

[Answer] In my opinion my former statements on Hungarian television are still relevant today, or that it is still very difficult to decide just what Solidarity is. In any case, it is wrong to say Solidarity because many millions of people who belong to Solidarity who are already taking their share of co-responsibility, for example in the plants. I myself often receive various resolutions from plant collectives which have been signed by both Solidarity and the party organization. These resolutions support the latest agreements but at the same time they also frequently assert that they in the factories act together, cooperate. What does this mean? It means that Solidarity's masses in many cases realize in fact, in daily practice, the concept of co-responsibility. The problem lies in the fact that in Solidarity's leading organs there is still a greater tendency to play exclusively the role of using force than to assume co-responsibility. That is the situation. Whether this will change in the foreseeable future, we shall see. This depends also on the development of events in Poland and these events depend on the political mood.



I personally believe that all that Poland experienced in the last week has been a great mental shock for the entire society. I feel that society has at least become aware of the danger which threatens Poland. During the times prior to the crisis--because this was a crisis--very many people thought that the government was only scaring people, was not telling the truth, that the situation was in fact better than the government of the party claimed, that things are not as bad as all that, that they are only trying to frighten us. Now, at last, during this crisis it became obvious that this was not scaremongering, that a general strike is the very abyss, a national tragedy.

I believe that an interesting situation is evolving now in Poland. Society is expressing fairly decisively its will for a return to normal relations. This is an extremely useful phenomenon. I have just now received a report on the Polish situation. It says that the population widely supports the solution of problems by political means and that in worker collectives and society the relief after the conflict-laden days is clear. There has been a noticeable fall in the spreading of leaflets and the pasting of various posters. Solidarity's extremist elements are not finding support. There are such favorable phenomena. These must be exploited by the party and by us in the government to open the road toward real stability.

[Question] Of the 3 million members of the PZPR, 1 million are members of Solidarity. What consequences does this have for the party?

[Answer] First of all, the party has to take this into consideration. Second, in my opinion, we, that is the Central Committee, have to use those party members who are also members of Solidarity. By "using" I mean here in the sense of orientation. Solidarity's local organizations should strive for a single objective: to create the basis of co-responsibility. Nothing more. If anyone wants to use party members to break up Solidarity or to cause internal disputes, he would be pursuing an incorrect, faulty policy. On the other hand a useful policy is one which turns to the party members and says: You are in Solidarity. Cooperate with your colleagues who are not party members. Cooperate in the development of co-responsibility, in the development of the partnerlike relations among all Polish social and political forces, including Solidarity. These must be the chief objectives of party members working within Solidarity.

[Question] How do you evaluate the ninth plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee? It seems to me, on the basis of various newspaper articles and statements, that this evaluation is ambiguous.

[Answer] Undoubtedly it is not clear-cut, inasmuch as it is indisputable that this plenary session was very interesting and at the same time very contradictory too. However, I believe that this element of contradiction is mainly a positive and useful phenomenon. In the second place, the crisis which has even bypassed the party was expressed here. The phenomenon, which I call the crisis domains phenomenon, has clearly taken shape in Poland during the 9 months since August. There are more and more new domains of crisis. Every stratum of society has gone through such crisis domains. In the end the crisis had to reach the party also because the party must answer quite a number of important questions which are related to the events of the past months and which are related to the question of responsibility for all the wrongs which characterized Polish life. In the end, the party here must set for itself the main goals but it can only do this if it evaluates critically its own actions.

For this reason, the course taken by the ninth plenary session was not a surprise to me. I believe that this plenary session was useful in providing a clear picture for us. As you know, not only were the weaknesses of the work of the Politburo criticized in the plenary session because of the errors made in directing political life in the past months; individual comrades were directly criticized also. I consider this to have been a useful occurrence although I see certain dangers in this criticism also. I feel that several of my friends and comrades are beginning to interpret democracy as if freedom of speech in democracy applied only to them. Personally I think that as long as a party member accepts the party's main guidelines, I cannot oppose him and I cannot demand his dismissal only because he appears more dogmatic to an outsider while I seem more open. This, properly speaking, means the end of democracy.

[Question] Forgive me for asking this next question: We Hungarian journalists are of course not in a position to judge the policy of the Polish party. But we in Hungary are frequently asked: Would it not be useful if the Polish party took more initiatives?

[Answer] First of all, I believe that you Hungarian journalists, our friends, have the right to assess our work and that is how it should be. Whether initiatives are necessary...? Naturally, yes. This is one of the big problems of our party. In particular the fact is that in the past months the party adopted on many occasions a defensive position. To tell the truth, there are debates within the party on who adopted a defensive stand: only the leadership or also the masses of party members?

I believe that the whole party adopted a defensive stand. From the debates one could often discern the well-known Polish saying: It is not my (?table). Here one has to be a fair judge. On the other hand, the absence of initiatives can also be traced back to objective causes. In my opinion, the party needed a certain amount of time to adapt to the new sociopolitical situation that had evolved in the country. The party also desired a renewal and the change of sociopolitical conditions. The best proof of this is the very interesting debate that was conducted prior to the party's eighth congress. But, since the methods of leadership remained unchanged, and similarly, the leaders at the head of the party did not change either, the criticism within the party had no practical results. In essence, it is only now having an effect. So, the results of this criticism were delayed.

But it is definitely a useful phenomenon for the party. I am deeply convinced that the criticism, in this extended form, is extremely useful. The party is at last telling the truth about itself. This can only help it in its further work. This is not the party of the losers but the party of many millions of Polish people who really want socialism in Poland to develop without cyclical crises and who want to end the causes of these crises. Not so that we might constantly argue and tear our cloaks and to be at the center of world attention continually, but so that we might at last get to the essence of things, to find that which up till now has been an obstacle in political life, which up till now obstructed the party in fulfilling its leading role, that leading role which is generally accepted.

[Question] Ten years ago, at the start of the seventies, one had the feeling that the people of Poland trusted the party. Today one has the feeling that your party was not able to keep this trust fully and truly. At the same time, it seems to be a difficult but a very necessary and at the same time urgent task to regain this trust somehow. How will you achieve this?

[Answer] As far as your remark on the seventies is concerned, this is appropriate, apposite. It is an old fixed idea of mine that we have been [word indistinct] primarily by our own self-complacency, first and foremost the self-complacency of the leaders and their conviction that, as people say in Poland, they had hold of God's foot and are still holding it. That was the main reason why we got into such difficult economic and political complications. How do I think that we can regain this trust? First of all, this is a question of many years. It cannot be done in a year or two. I repeat, and I will always repeat, that incomparably difficult years await the Polish party, difficult battles to regain lost confidence. How can this be achieved? There is an extremely large number of such tools in politics. There is not only one recipe for this. The latest events have also shown that for the Polish people one of the most fundamental issues is fairness, the use of the principle of fairness everywhere, in every sphere, but naturally not only on the side of society but also on the side of every organ of authority.

Of extraordinary importance, in addition to this, in the regaining of confidence is the utilization of the slogan that originates from Janos Kadar that who is not against us is with us. This opens up the road to those outside the party, who in recent times, in spite of fine declarations, have been barred from the possibility of fulfilling various positions.

So, many tools are at our disposal. In every phase one can use different methods but those which I mentioned just now are the most important. These have to determine our tactics and our strategy.

[Question] This process of renewal in the highest leadership of the PZPR, this process of which you speak so often, is it an ideological, methodological or organizational process, and in what direction is it progressing?

[Answer] I think that the process of renewal, this slogan, can not be judged merely from an ideological or political point of view. This slogan embraces many activities which, in the sphere of ideology, theory as well as practice.... [words indistinct]

[Question] Summing up our whole discussion, what are the most important tasks facing the Polish party, government and society?

[Answer] The first, most important task is to improve the country's economic situation and with this the population's supply. I maintain that democracy without bread is inconceivable in the long term. For this reason this is the most important task and this will remain so also in the near future. This does not mean that we underestimate the political tasks, the changes to be carried out in the methods of government, about which I have already spoken. If the Polish man has no possibility of putting a piece of meat in his pot, if he has problems buying bread and milk, then all this theorizing about democracy--and your journalist colleagues love to do this--is not worth a sou. For a certain time the people can devote great attention, what is more, a marked attention, to the practice of democracy, to political practice. But then comes everyday life. So it seems to me that Poland now really needs a calming down, especially after the shock of the last days, and that there should be a possibility for Poland to step onto the road of stabilization. In my opinion the majority of the Polish people have realized this. Perhaps they can see less clearly that stabilization in Poland is synonymous with European peace, with the strengthening of detente. On the other hand, destabilization is not simply a matter of changes within Poland, is not simply the business of our anxious friends--here I am thinking of the socialist countries--but in essence it is a matter for world peace.

#### FARMERS TU MEMBERS ATTEND SEJM COMMISSIONS SESSIONS

LD080648 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0430 GMT 8 Apr 81

[Excerpts] Good morning, ladies and gentlemen. Today's papers carry extensive accounts of the Sejm commissions sessions. I will outline them in brief.

First, the extraordinary Sejm commission for implementation of social contracts held a session. Members of the Presidium of the All-Polish Founding Committee of NSZZ Solidarity of Individual Farmers and Dr Ryszard Kukulowicz, delegate of the primate of Poland, were present. Journalists see yesterday's session as being of an exploratory nature. The point was to get as many [word indistinct] and opinions on the nature, goals and activities of this organization as possible, deputies who employ hired labor and also about forms of protests envisaged by the union.

As far as this latter aspect is concerned, an explanation was given that the protest may take the form, as the last resort, of withholding taxes for a period of time rather than of striking. It was stated that the farmer would never go on strike: this would be a crime against nature.

The salient points made in the speeches by the union's representatives and the position of this organization will be presented during the Sejm debate on Friday.

The Commission for Domestic Trade, Small Scale Manufacturing Industries and Services discussed the alarming state of the market. The Ministry of Domestic Trade, in connection with the high state of nervousness displayed by customers and speculation phenomena suggests that rationing should also be introduced on butter, fats, flour, groats, flaked oats and semolina for children.

The deputies believe that this should have been done earlier. However, if the rationing system is to be expanded, it must be much more efficient so that sick people and retired people do not have to stay in enormously long lines--for instance waiting to register--since it affects them adversely.

TRYBUNA LUDA CARRIES GOVERNMENT REPORT ON BYDGOSZCZ

AU071220 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Mar 81 p 8

[Text] Report by the government commission set up by the Council of Ministers chairman, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, with the following composition: Minister of Justice Jerzy Bafia---chairman; Ryszard Brzozowski, under secretary of state in the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare; Jan Jablonski, under secretary of state in the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Environmental Protection; Kazimierz Kukawka, deputy prosecutor general; and Sylwester Zawadzki, chairman of the Supreme Court---members:

The commission assumed that the essence of the task entrusted to it was to prepare a report on the course of events in Bydgoszcz, including drawing conclusions from them, and to present it urgently to the Council of Ministers chairman.

The commission examined the most essential elements of the events, since it could not substitute for the proper organs engaged in the appropriate proceedings within their regular competences, and particularly for the organs of the prosecutor's office.

On 22-23 March 1981, the commission arrived in Bydgoszcz and examined the extensive material concerning the preparations for and proceedings of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship People's Council on 19 March 1981, and about the events that followed.

In addition to the investigation of the events constituting the offence, the commission checked into the credibility of that material by holding many conversations with Sejm deputies, voivodship People's Council members, citizens militia functionaries, physicians, voivodship office staff members and others, as well as the collected documents.

On the first day of its work, the commission met representatives of the Interfactory Founding Committee [MKZ] of the NSZZ Solidarity. At that meeting the commission asked the MKZ of the NSZZ Solidarity to provide materials about the course of events. The commission only received a document which contained 10 postulates primarily concerning personnel changes.

On 24 March, and on the following days, the commission studied the materials and edited the report.

As a result of the examination of extensive materials and of the talks held, the commission concentrated its attention on matters fundamental for evaluating the events and found the following:

I. Events Preceding the Sixth Session of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship People's Council

1. Preparations for the session of the voivodship People's Council were made in a very tense sociopolitical atmosphere in connection with the occupation strike carried out in the building of the ZSL Bydgoszcz Voivodship Committee by the voivodship strike committee, which transformed on 17 March into the national strike committee of the NSZZ Solidarity of Private Farmers. That committee distributed many leaflets and spread slogans demanding the recognition of their union and compliance with the presented demands.

That strike had the active support of the MKZ of the NSZZ Solidarity in Bydgoszcz.

2. The preparations of Solidarity representatives for participating in the session of the voivodship People's Council were preceded by a broad campaign of distributing leaflets, carried out by the MKZ of the NSZZ Solidarity.

A telex message was sent to larger enterprises, inviting representatives of their collectives to participate in the session from 1400-1500 and informing them that the session agenda included the "evaluation of the social and legal state of private farming, and of the people's food supplies, in light of the present situation in the country," an item that was not on the agenda.



In the opinion of the voivodship authorities, the attempts to include that issue on the agenda were obviously linked with the tense situation that arose as a result of the farmers' occupation strike in the ZSL building.

To prevent a mass gathering around the voivodship office building, which would endanger public order, the voivodship authorities proposed to representatives of the Solidarity MKZ to organize a relay of the voivodship People's Council proceedings to a big closed hall which could accommodate members of larger enterprises invited by the Solidarity. That proposal was not accepted. Under such circumstances, and in view of the expected mass gathering in front of the voivodship office building, the voivodship authorities strengthened public order forces.

3. As a result of the meeting held by the voivodship People's Council Presidium with representatives of the MKZ of the NSZZ Solidarity, six written invitations for members of Solidarity were delivered for the voivodship People's Council session. Instead, about 30 persons arrived in the session hall, including 21 members of the MKZ, 5 MKZ advisers for agricultural affairs, and other Solidarity members.

## II. The Proceedings of the Sixth Session of the Voivodship People's Council

1. The sixth voivodship People's Council session opened in the conference hall of the voivodship office at 1000. The main item on the session agenda was the examination of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship socioeconomic plan and budget for 1981. The agenda also included the adoption of the 1981 plan for the activity of the voivodship People's Council, the voivoda's replies to the interpellations and various motions.

2. While opening the proceedings of the sixth session, the voivodship People's Council chairman presented the agenda, which was accepted by the council members without objection. At the same time the chairman told the council members about the telex message sent to larger enterprises in Bydgoszcz and announcing an agenda contradicting that stated in the invitations to the session received by representatives of the Solidarity MKZ. The voivodship People's Council chairman noted that the telex message could cause one to suppose that the said item had been added to the agenda, and that inviting Solidarity members from so many enterprises could disturb the routine of the voivodship People's Council's work and the session proceedings.

Having listened to very numerous interpellations and having pronounced a positive opinion about the candidacies for Bydgoszcz voivoda, the session proceeded to the main item on the agenda--the examination of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship plan and budget for 1981.

In the debate on the draft plan and budget, the floor was taken by the chairman of the commission for economic development and town and country planning. In view of the long list of interpellations which could affect the figures set in the plan and budget, and in view of the fact that the council members received materials containing the program for implementing the plan and the Polish premier's 10-point program in Bydgoszcz Voivodship too late, he moved to postpone that issue until the materials were added to and discussed in the commissions. The voivodship People's Council chairman put to a vote the motion to close the first part of the proceedings and the council accepted it with four votes abstaining.

At 1345 the chairman closed the session proceedings, thanking all council members and the invited guests for participating in the first part of the proceedings. The chairman announced that the time for the next part of the adjourned session would be fixed by the voivodship People's Council Presidium.

3. The motion made by the chairman of the commission for economic development and town and country planning was substantiated in a convincing way. Taking into account the importance of the issue, the substance of interpellations and the personnel change in the office of Bydgoszcz voivoda, some time was indeed needed to examine those important problems, once again, in the commissions of the voivodship People's Councils and to give the council members an opportunity to adequately prepare for the examination of the 1981 plan and budget.

However, it must be stated that the closure of the session for that reason, and the impossibility to discuss further items on the agenda, took some of the council members and all Solidarity representatives by surprise. In closing the proceedings, the voivodship People's Council chairman proved to be unequal to the task. That to a significant degree affected the course of events after the closure of the proceedings, since before the session an agreement had been reached that Solidarity representatives would take the floor during the "various motions" agenda item. The concluding speech by the voivodship People's Council chairman lacked at least an assurance that Solidarity representatives would be able to take the floor and present their views on the problems raised in the next part of the sixth voivodship People's Council session.

### III. Events Following the Adjournment of the Voivodship People's Council Session

1. When the voivodship People's Council session, held with the participation of 149 council members, was formally completed, a group of council members (about 45 persons) and representatives of the Solidarity MKZ objected that Solidarity representatives had been misled, since in talks preceding the session the voivodship People's Council Presidium had promised to offer them the floor during the session. The adjournment of the session and the sharp reaction on the part of the chairman of the MKZ constituted the main part of the conflict which lasted about 7 hours.

In their utterances, Solidarity representatives raised objections against the manipulating activities of the leadership of the voivodship administration, primarily of E. Berger, voivodship People's Council chairman, Deputy Voivoda R. Bak and Deputy Premier S. Mach. The council members were blamed, too, because they failed to assume an appropriate posture.

2. The commission has stated that the council members who stayed in the hall made efforts to discharge the tension. Among other things, they moved to convene within 7 days the second, extraordinary part of the session. At the same time, they formulated a guarantee that all representatives of the Solidarity MKZ who participated in the 19 March 1981 session would be invited, in accordance with the list of those present, to the council session, and that the offer of the floor to representatives of the Solidarity MKZ would be an integral part of that part of the session.

Those efforts made by a group of council members who sought to settle the conflict ended after many hours with the signing of a joint communique in which representatives of the Solidarity MKZ approved the posture assumed by the council members. At the same time, in the communique the Solidarity MKZ demanded applying severe measures against persons who caused the conflict that occurred at the sixth session, and protested against the presence of the citizens' militia organs, who at that time had already been called into the session hall.

3. When the joint communique was signed, some council members hoped that the conflict would be settled without any intervention on the part of the public order organs and that Solidarity representatives would leave the conference hall of the voivodship office. Despite the fact that the communique was signed by both sides, the Solidarity representatives still did not leave the conference hall. Already at that stage there were some facts indicating that the Solidarity representatives intended to set about occupying the hall. That could have seriously aggravated the situation in the city. That induced administrative authorities to take the decision to make use of the public order forces. That decision was to a large extent influenced by the fact that a large number of citizens, up to 1,200-1,500 persons, had gathered in front of the voivodship office building.

4. After several attempts by Deputy Voivoda R. Bak and then by the prosecutor, who had been summoned to the hall, to induce the Solidarity representatives to leave the hall, the decision was made to call in the public order forces.

Legal grounds for such a decision cannot be disputed, if one takes into account that the discussion taking place in a tense atmosphere continued for about 7 hours (from 1345 to about 2030) and that the local authorities were convinced that they were confronted with the threat of occupation of the conference hall in the voivodship office building.

The recognition of the legality of the decision to use the public order forces cannot be identified with the full acceptance of the forms and effectiveness of other means adopted earlier to settle the conflict. It should be pointed out that a part of the council members present in the hall at that time expressed the conviction that not all the chances were used to settle the conflict without the participation of the public order forces. It should not be ruled out that continuing attempts at persuasion could have induced those present to leave the building of the voivodship People's Council, but at the same time it should be borne in mind that any further delay in adopting the decision to engage the public order forces at a time when many people were gathering in front of the building could have given the conflict an even more drastic and dangerous character. That decision was undoubtedly adopted in an atmosphere of tension, after many hours of waiting for the Solidarity representatives to abide by the legal call to leave the hall. Under such conditions, the activities of the functionaries of power are always combined with a certain margin of error in assessing the merits of the situation.

Having in mind the circumstances as a whole, the commission finds that there is no reason to dispute the legality of the decision to use the public order forces.

#### IV. Militia in Action

1. The militia intervened after the Solidarity representatives in the hall had been informed by the local prosecutor that failure to vacate the premises in defiance of the order from an authorized official was an offense against the penal law.

The militia major who commanded the militia squad led the militiamen into the conference hall of the voivodship office building, having been assured by the deputy voivoda that the intervention was necessary.

Having brought the militia squad into the hall at 1910, the militia major asked Citizen J. Rulewski and other representatives of Solidarity to voluntarily vacate the building. He asked them not to offer resistance and not to hinder him in his official duties. Having appealed several times, to no avail, that the building should be vacated, he set a deadline by which the building had to be vacated.

Because a group of councillors was discussing and drafting a communique with representatives of Solidarity, the commander of the militia squad, having consulted the deputy voivoda, took his militiamen out of the hall. It should be stressed that the deadline for completing the communique was extended several times.

The removal of Citizen J. Rulewski and other Solidarity representatives from the conference hall began at about 2030, after the militiamen had reentered the hall when it became obvious that the occupants would not respond to the appeal to vacate.

The manner in which the occupants were removed from the hall was determined by the behavior of Citizen J. Rulewski and other Solidarity representatives at the time when the decision was made to bring them outside the building. The men joined their arms and formed the so-called unbreakable circle, which created a state of organized resistance. The event was additionally dramatized by the cry: "women into the circle" and by the singing of the national anthem. The militiamen broke into the circle and took Solidarity representatives out of the building through the door leading to the inner courtyard at the side entrance of the voivodship offices. Some persons left the hall without resisting, but some put up resistance, which is why they were forcibly removed.

The fact that the intervening militiamen did not possess firearms, clubs, helmets or hand-operated gas guns is not being questioned.

2. It is very difficult to evaluate the nature of and extent to which force was used when the persons in question were being removed from the conference hall of the voivodship office building. There is nothing to show that any person removed was beaten up or subjected to other means of violence other than those necessary to take him outside.

The verification of the course of events that took place outside the conference hall is most difficult. That is because the events took place in the evening, within a small courtyard in which about 100 persons were crowded.

The injuries suffered by J. Rulewski, M. Labentowicz and M. Bartoszcze as a result of the Bydgoszcz events are an undoubted fact. The commission takes the view that the range of injuries and doctors' opinions provide no reason for asserting that the injuries were self-inflicted.

The information supplied to the commission by the doctor, who is a Solidarity member and who was among the persons removed from the conference hall, shows that J. Rulewski was being beaten by individuals in civilian clothes.

It is necessary to take into consideration that, regardless of whether the injuries in question were inflicted in the conference hall or outside it, they are connected with the militia squad's going into action. Assuming that the bodily injuries occurred in the courtyard (after the persons in question had been taken out of the hall) as all available evidence attests, then the militia squad, which was in full control of the courtyard, had the duty to protect the persons removed against eventual beatings and even against a form of provocation.

That is why, regardless of whether the individuals who inflicted bodily injuries to the persons in question were or were not members of the militia squad that executed the task of emptying the hall, the militiamen in question were responsible for the direct consequences of the entire implementation of their task.

#### V. State of Injured Persons

1. On the strength of an excerpt from the log of a first-aid unit and the talks with Dr G. Hauslinger, who called in the ambulance service to attend to the injured J. Rulewski; and on the strength of talks with Drs A. Kozlowski and M. Kurek, it should be assumed that all the injured--J. Rulewski, M. Bartoszcze and M. Labentowicz--were removed, as an emergency measure, to the building at 5 Marchlewskiego Street, which houses Solidarity.

According to the voivodship physician Dr R. Dlugolecki, the Bydgoszcz city health service, run by the voivodship's administrative authorities and by the Ministry of Communications, gave medical assistance to the three persons in question in the "30th Anniversary" Voivodship Hospital on 19 March 1981. The first-aid ambulance service, stationary medical facilities and out-patients' departments did not give any medical assistance.

2. On the strength of the medical communique on the examination carried out in the voivodship hospital in Bydgoszcz, it is necessary to assume that:

A. Jan Rulewski suffered from an injury to the skull, a concussion of the brain and hematomas in the right jaw, the upper lip and the left thigh;

B. Indications are that Mariusz Labentowicz suffered from injuries to the skull and a concussion of the brain;

C. Michal Bartoszcze suffered from injuries to the skull and ribs, and indications of a concussion of the brain, a post-injury state of shock and a disturbed functioning of the coronary artery.

The state of health of M. Labentowicz and J. Rulewski was considered good at that time, but that of M. Bartoszcze as serious.

3. A new examination carried out by specialists from the Warsaw Medical Academy revealed that:



A. J. Rulewski suffered from a post-injury state of shock, bruises and hematomas in the face and the left lower leg and thigh. Because of suspected concussion of the brain, it was decided that the patient should remain under hospital observation for 7-10 days;

B. M. Labentowicz suffered from a post-injury state of shock, an injury to the left cheek requiring surgery, and a hematoma near the left eye. Anamnesis showed that the patient suffered a brief state of unconsciousness. The patient should remain in bed under medical observation for 7 days;

C. M. Bartoszcze suffered from a post-injury state of shock; from medical observation it is suspected that a thrombus is forming in a left-side brain cell. Anamnesis shows that the patient might have had a heart attack. Other injuries: a hematoma and bruises in the vicinity of the jaw and of the right side of the neck. The general state of the patient makes it necessary to carry out specialist examinations. The patient agreed to be transferred to the Medical Academy's neurological department in Warsaw.

4. On 24 March the state of health of the patients was as follows:

A. J. Rulewski (the opinion was formed with participation of consultants--Prof Baca, Associate Professor Bidzinski and Dr Piotrowski from Warsaw): The general state is good and temporary disturbances of the nervous system have receded. The encephalograph examination shows no changes. The patient's pains are caused by the post-injury state of shock resulting from the concussion of the brain. The patient is to continue hospital treatment.

B. M. Labentowicz (the opinion of the team mentioned in B): the general state is good. The patient is beginning to walk; no pains; bruises are responding to treatment; an ophthalmic examination has revealed a slight downward and rearward dislocation of the lens of the left eye. The state of the patient does not require intensive treatment, but ophthalmic observation--initially in hospital--is required.

C. M. Bartoszcze (the opinion of the neurological station of the Warsaw Medical Academy): the patient's state during his stay at the station is showing general improvement. The patient is feeling well and the loss of movement in the right hand and leg is abating. The patient complains of "general disintegration," giddiness and rapid exhaustion when talking and reading. Additional routine examinations show no changes. The spinal fluid is in good order. The x-ray examination of the chest shows no changes. The x-ray examination of the skull and the entire backbone shows no changes. Encephalograph examinations show normal readings. Computer tomography shows that the central nervous system is consistent with the age of the patient.

The general evaluation indicates improvement but shows that the results of head injuries cause the primary pains.

#### VI. Conclusions

1. The commission takes the view that it is necessary to express regret in connection with the Bydgoszcz events.

At such a difficult time, the conduct of all citizens, social and trade union organizations and state bodies in keeping with the principle of the rule of law is an indispensable element of the process of the country's socialist renewal and normalized life.

2. The commission takes the view that the Bydgoszcz events must not in any way prejudice the general evaluation of the state bodies' conduct toward Solidarity. That is best attested to by the fact that, beginning July 1980, disputes have been solved with the help of political means.

Even in sporadic cases when it was necessary to use the militia, as was the case in Nowy Sacz and Ustrzyki Dolne, such a use did not conflict with the law, took place without any resistance on the part of the persons who had to be removed and was conducive to the lawful conduct of the militiamen.

3. The commission notes that it is necessary for the government to express its determination to clarify--in the course of investigations--all the circumstances of the affair in question, and to draw the necessary conclusions vis-a-vis the persons guilty of lawless activity during the Bydgoszcz events. Penal proceedings should be completed as soon as possible.

The commission supports the demand submitted by the MKZ Solidarity that investigations into the Bydgoszcz events be carried out by the voivodship prosecutor supervised by the Prosecutor General. In keeping with the law, it is necessary to ensure participation of the plenipotentiaries representing the victims in the events.

4. The bodily injuries caused during the events in Bydgoszcz are an indication that the persons in charge of the militiamen in action have a special duty to safeguard themselves against all the eventualities that may ensue during such an action. It is necessary to find out whether the rules and regulations in force are adequate in such cases.

Apart from the investigations carried out by the voivodship prosecutor, the minister of internal affairs should initiate proceedings to clarify the militia activities in connection with the events in question, and to present detailed results of such proceedings to the premier, within 2 weeks at the latest.

5. The government commission fully approves of the activities of the voivodship people's councillors in Bydgoszcz, who tried to prevent the conflict and who want to continue as soon as possible the second part of the sixth session of the voivodship People's Council. The statements and proposals made during the council's session should be used to clarify the sources of the conflict in question and to establish close cooperation in order to overcome difficulties and restore the normal rhythm of work in Bydgoszcz Voivodship.

6. As shown by the Bydgoszcz events, the tense social situation indicates that it is necessary to carefully prepare all kinds of public meetings so that errors in running them do not cause acute conflicts that are difficult to eliminate in certain situations. In that connection it is also necessary to appeal to the KKP of Solidarity to instruct Solidarity representatives to observe such forms of expressing views in public contacts as are compatible with the principle of social intercourse.

7. The commission thinks it desirable for the government to address the KKP of Solidarity to the effect that activities seeking to occupy public buildings violate the law in force and exceed the forms of protests as provided for in Solidarity statutes.

8. The commission deems it most necessary for the government to take action aimed at determining the indispensable measures to prevent events similar to those in Bydgoszcz. That action should be taken in cooperation with the KKP of Solidarity, and other trade union and social organizations.

The commission thinks it necessary to reaffirm the general and consistent observance of the constitutional principle of the rule of law.

#### SOLIDARITY STATEMENT ON BYDGOSZCZ EVENTS PUBLISHED

LD071529 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Mar 81 p 8

[PAP report: "Observations by National Consultative Commission Solidarity Delegation"]

[Text] After familiarizing themselves with the report issued by the government commission set up to inquire into the events which took place in the voivodship office building in Bydgoszcz on 19 March 1981, representatives of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] of Solidarity state the following:

1. The description and assessment of the events included in the report call for corrections and addenda on a number of points. Here are the most important of them:

1. The government commission's statements concerning events preceding the Voivodship People's Council's [WRN] meeting call for the following corrections:

NSZZ Solidarity has supported the NSZZRI [presumably NSZZ Private Farmers] Solidarity strike committee mainly insofar as they both demanded that the voivodship authorities resolve the conflict connected with the occupation of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship ZSL committee building as soon as possible. The fact that the problem of the "assessment of the sociolegal agricultural economy of individual farmers and of food supplies for the nation in the light of the current situation in the country" was included in the agenda could not have caused any surprise to anyone. This subject had been mentioned to the WRN Presidium and it was, in fact, to enable it to submit this problem that the Inter-factory Founding Committee [MKZ] Solidarity delegation in Bydgoszcz was invited to the WRN meeting. In view of the open nature of that meeting, the MKZ was entitled to ask some enterprises' Solidarity organizations which were concerned by the socially urgent problem of food supplies to send their representatives as observers to the meeting. Such a step by the MKZ was completely consistent with trade union activities as determined by its statutes and could not justify any reinforcement of the forces of law and order.

2. The closing of the meeting by the WRN chairman on 19 March 1981 at 1345 hours was a result not of the adoption of any resolution by councillors to "conclude the first part of the deliberations" but of an arbitrary decision on his part. Voting at the WRN meeting concerned only a proposal that discussions concerning planning and budget, which related to only one of the items on the agenda, be postponed.

3. The closing of the meeting was tantamount to the breaking of an agreement which guaranteed that a motion concerning problems faced by farmers submitted by NSZZ Solidarity representatives would be discussed within the framework of free proposals. Therefore, the MKZ had the right to submit an objection concerning this matter. It was absolutely necessary to prepare and publish an appropriate communique, if possible, in cooperation with some WRN councillors, in order to fulfill public opinion's demands and prevent any further increase in tension. The preparation of the communique dragged on for some 6 hours mainly as a result of obstacles raised by the voivodship authorities.

Deputy Voivoda Przybylski repeatedly tried to interfere with the content of the Solidarity communique which was being prepared. Some councillors, including those who belonged to a working team which was helping to prepare a joint communique, were repeatedly called away to separate premises (room No. 145). What made matters even more difficult was also the interference by the regional prosecutor and, later, Civic Militia [MO] officials who urged the people present to leave the conference room and set rigid time limits for the conclusion of the communique's preparation.

4. A statement that the MO's final intervention took place after the communique was signed, which was included in the report, is untrue. Solidarity representatives were forcibly removed from the conference room while they were signing the communique, as made clear by the fact that some signatures are lacking.

5. The report states that "the local authorities were convinced that they were faced with the threat that the conference room in the voivodship office building might be occupied." This belief has not been based on any real facts. No technical preparations (food supplies, blankets, sleeping bags and so forth) whatever for any sit-in strike had been made. Under the circumstances, assumptions that any occupation was planned represent a defense line adopted by the people responsible for the ensuing situation.

6. The legal basis for the decision to call upon the forces of law and order to clear the conference room must be challenged. Such a decision could not be justified by the fact that the discussion was dragging on since this discussion was taking place between WRN councillors and the invited representatives of their electorate. Only the councillors themselves could decide when the discussion should be concluded and the prevention of their activities connected with the performance of their public duties through a decision made by some official—even though he had the rank of deputy voivoda—was completely inadmissible from a legal viewpoint.

7. The way in which Deputy Voivida Bak's orders were carried out by MO officials represents yet another problem. In this connection, the government commission report says nothing of a number of circumstances which significantly contributed toward a worsening of the situation.

For instance, it is characteristic that the final intervention by the forces of law and order took place at a time when the activities of a group of Solidarity representatives who still remained in the conference room, were drawing to an end. Some Solidarity representatives who had previously tried on their own initiative to leave the voivodship office building were not allowed to do so. Side by side with MO members in uniform some officials wearing civilian clothes were used on this occasion. According to reports by some eyewitnesses, it was those officials who were responsible for beating J. Rulewski, M. Labentowicz, and M. Bartoszcze. This beating took place after the conference room was cleared, that is, after the aim of the action was achieved. Some MO officials dragged Rulewski and Labentowicz, who had already been beaten, back into the conference room (some councillors witness this). Later, the three men were carried out from the building through a courtyard and left at the gate even though they needed immediate medical attention. All these circumstances may well indicate that this action was taken deliberately in order to create an atmosphere of social upheaval.

On 20 March 1981, MKZ NSZZ Solidarity in Bydgoszcz submitted to a team of government experts led by the Polish People's Republic deputy prosecutor general a full report on what really happened at the 19 March 1981 WRN meeting. It would appear from the government commission's report that that information has not been fully reflected in the report's written text.

II. Conclusions formulated in the government commission's report should be discussed separately:

1. First of all, the behavior of the people responsible for an unwarranted interruption of the WRN meeting, the use of the forces of law and order and the way in which those forces were used was deplorable.

2. It is difficult to discuss the Bydgoszcz events separately from similar cases when MO members attacked Solidarity members, including workers employed by the Warsaw city transportation board. It is significant that these events were interconnected as far as the time factor was concerned. Events similar to those which occurred in Warsaw have also taken place in some other centers. Conclusions mentioned under points three through five of the report are completely consistent with Solidarity's views. With reference to the report's conclusions six and seven, we state that NSZZ Solidarity has consistently been trying to improve the cultural level of social life by seeking to prevent any acts of violence. This has been shown most clearly by the fact that the NSZZ Solidarity National Consultative Commission [KKP] has issued instructions to regional and enterprise organizations with this end in mind. However, it is impossible to ignore the fact that the authorities did not advise the KKP about any allegedly improper activities by trade union regional authorities in Bydgoszcz in the period when, according to the report, social tension was increasing. On the contrary, on 19 March 1981, that is, at a most difficult moment when the conflict was being intensified, KKP Chairman Lech Valesa was prevented from contacting by telephone Solidarity representatives at the WRN building. Intervention by Dr Roman Kukulowicz with the city authorities aimed at resolving the conflict was also repeatedly ignored. The KKP delegation agrees with the conclusion mentioned under point eight of the government commission's report and believes that it is necessary to ensure an institutional way for implementing it.

Despite the above-mentioned circumstances and shortcomings, the government commission's report undoubtedly represents a step forward as far as clarification of the entire matter is concerned and it is regrettable that it was not published earlier since this would have prevented the spread of exacerbating and fact-distorting propaganda by the official mass information media. The government commission's report and these observations should jointly represent a starting point for the inquiry which is being carried out into this matter.



WALESA INTERVIEW; TIME FOR CONFRONTATION PAST

LD072135 Warsaw PAP in English 2017 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Apr (PAP)--In an interview granted to the SLOWO POWSZECHNE Catholic daily, Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa said that "there was a time when as much as possible had to be won by way of confrontation or semi-confrontation. Through this, we have arrived at fundamental agreement. Now we should abandon the strivings to sign more agreements. We should return to what has been signed and think how to exact things that have been agreed on.

"It seems to me that now we should follow the path of exacting the agreements through legal social representation. I mean meetings with Sejm deputies and councillors, whom we shall invite to factories and ask if they really feel our representatives. If they do, we shall suggest that on their forums as our representatives they work towards executing the signed agreements. At the same time we shall oblige them to come back to us after every meeting or session and tell us how they raised in the public forum our issues which the government earlier accepted.

"Those activists who were very good at fight, at confrontation, who never ceased driving to confrontation must shift now. Obviously, those who can do it. If they cannot, they must say good-bye to social work during the elections. Elected to the authorities must be those people who will try to seek other ways of settling all of our affairs.

"We see growing queues before shops, we see that this is backfiring on us. Therefore we have to look for other ways to settle those issues.

"It is not worth risking the edge of the precipice now that much is to be won by conquering tower after tower. Now we are listening in to voices of party groups, voivodship committees, even militia stations, the councillors who write statements together with us.

"It takes time for that fruit of social solidarity to grow ripe. That is the way that I shall push, so that we do not lose anything of understanding, we do not destroy anything of our achievements, attaining as much as possible. More and more social groups think better of it and join us, follow our cause, for it is a cause of us all. We should abandon the road of confrontation, though it may turn out inevitable when there is no other way out. We do have the ultimate weapon, but we shall try to reach agreement through other means, without scaring and wearing off [as received] the society", Walesa said.

## More on Interview

NC071551 Paris AFP in English 1549 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Apr (AFP)--Solidarity union chief Lech Walesa said today the time for confrontation in Poland was past and his independent labor federation now should seek lawfully to implement its agreements with the Warsaw regime.

Mr Walesa also challenged union hard-liners to change their attitude or to quit the Solidarity leadership during elections that he said will be held "as quickly as possible."

His comments, in an interview with the Catholic pro-government newspaper SLOWO POWSZECHNE, came as speculation outside Poland heightened about a possible Soviet intervention to quell the labor unrest.

"There was a time when it was necessary to win everything by confrontation," Mr Walesa said. "But we can no longer continue to run the risk of going to the brink when we can go further by a policy of small steps," he said.

He added that the tough approach was "morally and psychologically" exhausting and Solidarity should now follow the "lawful path" in its dealing with the Polish authorities.

"It is not so much a matter of signing new accords as of returning to documents already signed and thinking of ways by which we can implement all that was agreed on," the union chief said. While confrontation cannot be ruled out, it should come only as a last resort, he added.

Mr Walesa said that in a bid to create a warmer labor-government relationship, Solidarity was considering inviting members of Parliament to pay visits to factories to meet the workers.

The Solidarity leader dismissed criticisms by union hard-liners of his handling of negotiations to end the latest crisis triggered by the police beating of three union militants last month.

He said the criticisms voiced at the union's National Coordinating Commission that ratified the accord with the government and called off a threatened general strike were the result of a "lack of information."

"We did not have enough time to explain that we reacted in a completely democratic fashion," he said.

#### ZABINSKI RECORDED ON STRUGGLE AGAINST SOLIDARITY

DW071217 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 6 Apr 81 pp 160-162

[Excerpts from the clandestine tape recording made of an instruction speech to security and police officers of the Katowice Voivodship by PZPR Politburo member Andrzej Zabinski]

[Text] I must say in this circle of experts that it is not an easy game. Our analyses were serious and thorough. We have decided deliberately for negotiations (with Solidarity), and this with the goal of eliminating the strikes first and only then will we think about how things are to continue.

The slogan of our adversary is: trade unions, so-called independent self-administered trade unions. It is the slogan of our adversary; it was, however, and still is generally supported by the workers class.

The workers class backs these trade unions because it believes we will do some foolish things again. It holds the view that these trade unions must be independent in the sense that they give us a piece of their mind if we forget the social targets of our policy which we have always proclaimed, whereas in reality we do just the opposite.

Therefore, our relationship with the new trade unions cannot be the same as that of the workers class. The most important thing for us is that party members belong both to the old and to the new trade unions so as to prevent a situation where there are small trade unions loyal to the party, on the one hand, and non-party, meaning anti-party trade unions, on the other.

If we do not join these new trade unions, we would make things easier for them and we would contribute toward turning them into a KOR organization (meaning the KOR Social Self-Defense Committee). It is a matter-of-course that KOR is behind all these new trade unions, no doubt about that. The church backs them, too. So if we join these trade unions, this would undoubtedly be a step to the right on our part. But I would say, better a step to the right than a step into the abyss.

First of all, a political attack must be launched against the concept of a regional arrangement proposed by Mr Walesa and his prompters. (The old pro-party trade unions were organized by branches.) We must attack this concept very sharply by showering these guys with thousands of questions such as: What are they going to do with the funds of the miners union? How can miners and hairdressers be organized in one and the same trade union? Where on earth do you have such trade unions?

Sure, they don't have cadres, although they plan to set them up in all of the country. In fact, this is a soft spot for political attacks, a very soft spot, and we must attack, and that's what we are doing at present.

This is a very serious problem, but we must not have a state of war with these trade union cadres.

You, comrades, are experts and you are doing a good job in this respect. But what also matters is our party, because our party officials have forgotten how to fight. The party just did not have enemies. Allegedly we were so strong that nobody could do us harm.

Then a catastrophe comes, and how do they react? They react either with apathy or with fury. They shout: Enemies, counterrevolution!

This is the phase we are in today. Our struggle is aimed at separating the leading KOR people from the factories, which means, destroying the new trade union structure and enforcing a structure by branches. I don't mind if they are independent trade unions, but they must be branch unions; they must be organized only by branches.

Then we will have an easier game, because the workers' traditions are extremely strong. Just go to a railroad worker or a miner and tell him he would be in one and the same trade union together with a milliner!

Why do we defend the Central Council of Trade Unions (the former disbanded pro-party head organization)? We do that because we are forced to fight them (the trade union Solidarity) legally. Therefore we must not give up anything without struggle. Let the adversary have a hard time, too. He must disintegrate.

Comrades, it is important for the people to know what riffraff these new trade unions are and what they strive for, although we don't name them. Second, it is important for them to be afraid, really afraid, of the Western states, above all the Federal Republic, Denmark or, let's say, the Americans; that the people understand what damage they are doing here.

Maybe the Germans don't like the Poles, but they are far too well off to want war; that's quite clear. Therefore, the intelligence services are put into action with regard to the officials of the new trade unions. And if you talk to these about it they get excited: KOR? They say, they have nothing to do with it.

Very good. They dissociate themselves from KOR, but at the same time they fight for the right of information, for access to the mass media. They will fight for this access successfully, but on the condition that they dissociate from KOR. A declaration of dissociation would be very useful, because this again would lead to a split within KOR.

This is our political line, our tactical plan. It is hard to say whether we will succeed in enforcing this line in the course of the struggle, but there is no other way. They must be aware that we won't let ourselves be cheated. Just let them continue their strikes, because this would lead to the strikes being discredited. Therefore, we should not hurry too much to end the strikes.

Naturally we also apply such a tactic toward the Katowice metallurgical plant, with an element of fear having to be used here. The people, above all, the construction workers must know that the development of this metallurgical plant will be halted. They must learn that the building enterprises possibly will be dissolved and that less qualified workers will be laid off.

The next problem is the 4-brigade system (the recently abolished 4-shift system in the coal mines). This, too, is a new platform for us, because it is the workers commissions which have to suggest who is to be fired from the coal mines. So let them do it.

These guys must get involved in a thousand different difficulties. I pity them, because some of them are really nice young guys. But since they have embarked on this [words indistinct] policy (laughing), there is no other way out.

They must experience the flavor of power. They must have rooms at their disposal, and these rooms must be furnished as luxuriously as possible. I have always said and I reiterate in this circle that I do not know anybody who would not be demoralized by power. It is only a question of time and dimension (laughing).

In this respect we have already noticed quite a few things. They have easy access to money, taxi rides to Gdansk, telephones, contacts with the voivodship party secretary and the deputy premier. They travel around and start spending a lot of money, the money that...oh well, this is just the right direction.

Where will this lead to? Probably to a merger of all these trade unions, which may, however, take years. But the first goal is that they do not carry off our party members from their trade unions, and the second goal is that they carry off the KOR people, and then we will have to gradually split all the rest.

Well, comrades, that's how things are with the trade unions. It is a difficult affair which must be tackled very delicately, with great political sensitivity and also with consistency.

'INDIVISIBILITY' OF SOLIDARITY AGREEMENTS STRESSED

LD080918 Warsaw PAP in English 1408 GMT 7 Apr 81

["Pre-Congress Discussion: Line of the Masses"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Apr (PAP)--Referring to the recent debate of the 9th meeting of the PUWP Central Committee, Zbigniew Siedlecki writes in TRYBUNA LUDU: "The line now being shaped in party organizations is at the same time the line of the masses, and it maps out the course for a thorough and uncompromising renewal of public life in Poland.

"The agreements from Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie are the foundation of socialist renewal and the record of implementation of these agreements is a measure of progress of the renewal. But it must be borne in mind that the contents of the August agreements is indivisible. This means that implementation of the individual points of the agreements cannot violate the principle of respect for the constitution on the basis of which these agreements have been concluded. The indivisibility of agreements is questioned in practice by extremists inside the party and in Solidarnosc. Therefore, positive conclusions cannot be expected unless the activity of those extremists is thwarted.

"Since last August a persistent struggle for full recognition of the agreements conceived as indivisible has been waged in the Polish United Workers' Party. This struggle cannot be won in a day or a month. It is most likely to go on until the 9th congress. There is no doubt, however, as seen from the course and results of the successive meetings of the Central Committee and, in a still larger degree, on the basis of observation of what is going on in party organizations grouping workers and intelligentsia, that this is an effective struggle."

Siedlecki goes on: "It seems that there are many people in Poland totally unaware that the country is now in a very serious situation, and worse still, there are groups in Poland which are trying to prevent the truth of the seriousness of the situation being brought home to everybody.

"Such a state of affairs cannot go on any longer. What we need is a universal recognition overriding all emotions of the sense of responsibility for the fate of thirty-five million Poles. Consequently, any one found to have been oblivious of that responsibility, regardless of intentions, deserves condemnation. This sense of responsibility should dictate a unity of action to save the state from disaster.

"This unity of action can only be ensured by Premier Jaruzelski's government. Although nobody is opposing that government, I cannot be persuaded to trust people who, light-heartedly, tend to play down the results of the just concluded negotiations, the course of which was followed with such great concern and hope. For it is not words but actions that matter."



"The unity of action is being easily shaped at the bottom than at the top [as received], and this is an optimistic fact inspiring hope that unity will be achieved at all levels," concludes TRYBUNA LUDU.

<sup>1</sup>  
'Stubborn' Struggle in PZPR

LD080814 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1400 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] The TRYBUNA LUDU publicist, Zbigniew Siedlecki, states inter alia, in the discussion before the 9th party congress: A stubborn struggle has been taking place since August in the PZPR for a genuine and full acknowledgement of the agreements and for an understanding of their indivisibility. It requires a patient explanation that the workers' party must be always with the class from which it traces its origin, that almost 1 million party members are members of Solidarity, that Solidarity, in spite of many controversial features arising from its spontaneity and in spite of the fact that people [Words indistinct] after it who cannot be regarded as adherents of socialism is an authentic workers' movement.

TRYBUNA LUDU REVIEWS NEW SOLIDARNOSC WEEKLY

AU081047 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4-5 Apr 81 p 6

[MJ review: "The First Issue of SOLIDARNOSC Weekly"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] AS REPORTED, THE FIRST ISSUE OF A NEW WEEKLY NEWSPAPER ENTITLED SOLIDARNOSC AND PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION [KKP] OF THE NSFF SOLIDARITY, ANNOUNCED SOME TIME AGO, WAS OFFERED FOR SALE YESTERDAY AT NEWSSTANDS.

The first SOLIDARNOSC issue was edited on days of particular tension in the country. Thus it reflects the atmosphere of the crisis and reports the realities of the conflict as seen by trade unionists. It also formulates premises giving hopes to look calmly into the future. Its editorial, by Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chief editor, speaks about the "universally respected maturity of the Polish way of settling conflicts by agreement."

A SIGNIFICANT PART OF THE ISSUE IS DEDICATED TO PHOTOGRAPHS AND DOCUMENTS. AMONG OTHER THINGS, THE PUBLICATION CARRIES A CHRONICLE OF EVENTS LINKED WITH TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES, A JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED BY THE KKP OF NSFF SOLIDARITY AND THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS COMMITTEE FOR TRADE UNIONS, THE PROTOCOL ON THE RZESZOW AGREEMENT, AND A REPORT ON THE BYDGOSZCZ EVENTS. THE COLUMN OF CURRENT EVENTS IS ALSO SUBSTANTIAL. THERE ARE SEVERAL REPORTS, INCLUDING ONE ON THE WARNING STRIKE AT THE URSUS MACHINEBUILDING PLANT. THE LEVEL OF THE PUBLICATION SUGGESTS THAT IT MAY HELP ENRICH INTELLECTUAL LIFE IN THE COUNTRY, AND MAY BECOME AN IMPORTANT PARTNER IN THE PLURAL, NATIONWIDE DISCUSSION ON THE WAYS OF REPAIRING THE REPUBLIC.

In the editorial message to the readers we can, among other things, read: "OUR INTENTION IS TO SERVE OUR TRADE UNION WELL, TO STRUGGLE FOR ITS PRINCIPLES, PROGRAM AND IDEAS. IT IS OUR INTENTION TO PARTICIPATE IN SHAPING BETTER LIVING CONDITIONS FOR OUR ENTIRE SOCIETY, FOR A LIFE MORE WORTHY, JUST AND FREE THAN BEFORE. OUR INTENTION IS ALSO TO PARTICIPATE IN THE REPAIR OF OUR COUNTRY'S PUBLIC, ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL LIFE, AND IN OVERCOMING THE CRISIS THAT HAS ENGULFED THE COUNTRY".

Let us hope that the new trade union movement, including its weekly, will concentrate precisely on the extensive problems stemming from the trade union statutes, and will help normalize our life on the road of socialist renewal.

COMMENTARY ON 'UNDERMINED' CONFIDENCE IN MILITIA

AU081042 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 4-5 Apr 81 p 5

[J. Olszewski commentary: "Society and the Militia"]

[Text] The economic, social and political crisis has undermined the consolidated bonds and mutual confidence between the public and the organs of public order--the citizens militia.

At the time when tension is great, when events frequently take an uncontrolled course and when emotions win the upper hand over commonsense, no one must be surprised at such a development. Meanwhile, it is known--and all sober-minded citizens are aware--that the existence of a stable state structure under any political system is unthinkable without an efficient apparatus to maintain public order. In a word, without the militia, without those people who control traffic, patrol the streets, protect our property and health and chase delinquents, there can be no feeling of security and order. Society requires that the militia act resolutely within the framework of norms and valid regulations consistent with the principles of socialist legality. Even in cases of emergency--and we had such cases recently--the law must not be infringed upon under any circumstances. We know perfectly well what public response the Bydgoszcz affair has had. A local incident has turned into a nationwide issue, and was even reflected in a decision adopted by the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. That decision reads: "The plenum obligates the Politburo and government to fully investigate the course of events in Bydgoszcz, and to draw all conclusions from them."

What happens under such circumstances is a reflex of distaste and doubt in the legality of militia activity in general; and at times this is demonstrated directly to functionaries. On the whole, that protest is unfair and certainly unbearable for the community of citizens militia functionaries, since they are suspected of acting against the society from which they come and which they want to serve in line with their qualifications. They want and must protect public order, the more so since citizen militia functionaries are not strangers in society, they were born into it, are sons of workers, peasants, shipyard workers, miners and metallurgists. They think like their parents and the people of their age.

As letters and telephone calls show, militiamen also demand that the Bydgoszcz events be highlighted, that the offenders be revealed and brought to account.

Various turning points in history have and still do expose militiamen to public ill will, frequently fomented by persons eluding responsibility.

On the other hand, with the assistance and support of the public, militiamen can best cope with their tasks. That is important both for the militia and the public, and is thus of general public interest.

#### ECONOMIC SITUATION 'WORSENS'; SHORTAGES ABOUND

LDJ80825 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Mar 81 pp 1, 3

[Eugeniusz Waszczuk article: "It Is Necessary To Know the Danger"]

[Text] It is difficult to write when you realize that the significance of objective facts as stated is gradually decreasing whereas emotions have been playing an increasingly important role. However, we feel that we are duty bound to write about a dramatic state of affairs and some fatal trends in order to ensure that no one will be able to assert that we have again left something unsaid or have failed to warn people against something that either may or is bound to occur.

So we feel duty bound to inform our readers that the country's economic situation has been worsening with every passing month and that it is difficult to answer the question of whether we have reached rock bottom or whether we have sunk below any bottom. For, first of all, the community in general should become aware of matters which are of the greatest importance to the country, and the state of the economy and economic prospects undoubtedly belong to this category. And, second, we have entertained and even now entertain perhaps an idealistic hope that awareness of an indeed tragic situation will prompt people to jointly and more intensively seek a way out of the current crisis.

We have already written about a fall in industrial production in January and February 1981, compared with the corresponding period last year--its value decreased by Z57 billion.

Production of coal, copper, zinc, aluminum, cement, paper and cardboard decreased considerably. For instance, coal production fell by 7.4 million tons, oil refinery output by 530,000 tons, cement production by 1,180,000 tons and paper and cardboard production by 16,200 tons.

This fall in the production of basic raw and other materials, the decrease in imports of these and difficulties in the energy sphere were the main causes of recession in January and February. Unfortunately, no improvement has occurred in March, during which production may have fallen even more than in January and February.

At the same time as production has slumped, payments out of the wages fund have continuously increased. During the first 2 months production fell more than 10 percent whereas the wages fund increased some 18 percent. This has obviously affected the market situation.

Similarly unfavorable trends can be observed in the agricultural sphere, and this has adversely affected the current purchasing level and may well affect this year's harvest of basic agricultural products. In particular, the shortage of fodder is bound to lead to a decline in livestock raising and its profitability. Production of new agricultural machinery has fallen and there is a shortage of spare parts for old machinery. Farmers do not receive enough fertilizer. There is a shortage of seed corn and seed potatoes.

In January purchasing centers bought 6 percent and in February 12 percent less cattle for slaughter than 1 year ago. According to forecasts, some 50,000 tons less will be bought in March 1981 than was bought in March 1980. The situation with respect to milk purchases is also bad.

Implementation of tasks pertaining to foreign trade has also proved unsatisfactory. In the first 2 months of the current year, exports fell 22 percent compared with the corresponding period in 1980. Imports increased 1.7 percent, mainly as a result of increased purchases of grain and fodder. However, supply imports decreased and, as we have already mentioned, this has very badly affected our industrial production.

It is not necessary to describe the market situation--we have all been affected by it since we have had to wait in increasingly long lines, for longer and longer periods of time, especially outside food stores. We will not say by how many percent supplies of meat, meat products, animal fat, butter, cheese and so forth have decreased--growing difficulties concerning their purchase are sufficiently telling. It has also been difficult to purchase margarine despite a 23 percent increase in supplies. This is understandable in view of shortages of other fats. Supplies of milk powder for babies have also been disrupted. Despite all the present difficulties, someone must bear responsibility for this.

In fact, it would be pointless to further enumerate the shortages in food stores because it is well known that all goods--except vinegar and poorer quality tea--disappear from store shelves as soon as they are delivered. Potatoes are also in short supply. At the end of February 1981, food stocks were 28 percent lower than 1 year ago. We also find it difficult to buy any detergent and other sanitary articles.

It would be difficult to leave out of even such a superficial survey the fact that in March and in the coming months the production of drugs has been and will be endangered as a result of a shortage of adequate funds which would enable us to import raw materials and semifinished goods and of a depletion of stocks. For instance, the gas shortage has led to an interruption of the production of glass containers and the decrease in the purchase of cattle for slaughter has led to a fall in the supply of pancreas for the production of insulin which we now have to import.

It is a situation which it would be difficult not to call dramatic.

We have to agree with the opinion of experts from the planning commission who have concluded their assessment of the first months of the current year with the following words: "As a result of the situation prevailing in the material production and foreign trade spheres, shortages of goods have become more acute and there is a danger of a complete disorganization of the market and a collapse of the economy."

Therefore, it is absolutely necessary to ensure that everybody becomes aware of this danger. It will be possible to find a way out of the present crisis only in a peaceful atmosphere of growing confidence which will encourage production growth."

It is not by mere chance that we now mention matters which are of greatest importance, literally vital, for our nation. We are writing these words in the face of a threat of further strikes. Let everyone consider objectively and honestly what strike upheavals are bound to mean to our weakened and sick economy, to Poland and to us all.

'MILK CRISIS' PASSES; DELIVERIES INCREASING

LD080848 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1400 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] The first indications are emerging that the profound milk crisis has already passed. Milk deliveries are increasing and daily totals 19 million liters. In order to satisfy the present demands, 23 million liters per day are needed. It may be expected that with favorable weather there will be adequate supplies of milk in about 6 weeks' time.

LAGGING COAL PRODUCTION IN LOWER SILESIA REPORTED

LD080750 Wroclaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] In the first quarter of this year the pits of the lower Silesia coal industry association mined 520,000 tons of furnace coal. This result is lower than expected and bears witness to the fact that the miners are having difficulties in achieving a normal rhythm of work. Labor organization is deficient, as is labor discipline on occasion.

COMMISSIONS CREATED TO COMBAT SPECULATION

LD080904 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0400 GMT 8 Apr 81

[Text] Three weeks ago the Gdansk Voivoda set up the voivodship commission for combating speculation. The press promptly reported this and the reaction was immediate. Our telephones began to ring incessantly, mail began to pour in, people reported various irregularities in the functioning of trade. A social commission stopped a taxi driver who had collected about 13 kg of meat from the back of a butcher's store. A long letter signed by a few dozen inhabitants, told us about the practice of shopping from under the counter. Registration plates of cars belonging to such customers were noted and cited in the letter. Information about stocks in the stores was forwarded to us. These facts were confirmed in the reports by the civic militia and state trade inspectorate. The commission took note of all this. However, this is not the purpose for which it was set up.

A body comprising state administration officials, trade union representatives, employees of the civic militia, the prosecutor's representatives, employees of the civic militia, the prosecutor's office and the state trade inspectorate and representatives of the municipal volunteer reserve for the maintenance of law and order is to carry out coordinating functions of strategic significance, so to speak. Following the creation of the voivodship commission, similar commissions are being set up in larger towns along the coast.

Gdynia already has a commission, Gdansk has a commission as of yesterday. Their task is to counteract phenomena such as purchasing and selling goods for profit, customers being cheated when purchasing goods, services being rendered through over-pricing [as heard], cheating on weights and measures, incorrect distribution, hoarding of goods for the purposes of speculation and, finally, illegal trade in monopoly commodities.

The commissions, when defining the scope of their powers, must determine the extent to which the law of supply and demand may freely develop, and in what sections of the market it is necessary to struggle to maintain sensible prices.



Arbitrary decisions banning the free market, for instance, in the sales of meat originating from the slaughter of state-owned livestock or agricultural produce at the prices fixed by the producers, might only result in exacerbating the phenomenon or in ensuring an even wider gap between supply and demand, thus affecting the less well-off. The commissions will not only deal with speculation as defined in the penal code, but, in a wider sense, with any irregularities on the ailing market, already subject to rationing. Naturally, the only way to eliminate them is to liquidate shortages in the supply of goods, rather than have commissions sprouting up all over the place. However, today they are essential.

#### SEJM COMMISSION DISCUSSES ECONOMIC REFORM

LD072104 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] The SEJM Commission for the Economic Plan, Budget and Finance today reviewed comments and opinions from other SEJM commissions concerning the fundamental precepts of the economic reform. These sometimes take into consideration individual interests of various branches of the economy and some contradict each other and require a more precise formulation. In many cases it was also found that the draft of the fundamental precepts of the reform did not ensure that (?defined) social goals would be reached. Some commissions are of the opinion that in the draft economy reform whole issues have been omitted such as local industry. It was stressed that the economic reform cannot be stopped and needs to be implemented urgently, but it is even more important that the reform not fail. In the discussions, much controversy was created over the issue of establishing opinion-giving and consultative organs at the SEJM. It was said that it would be useful, in preparation of the draft, to establish a socioeconomic council at the SEJM with the participation of representatives from self-governments, trade unions and the sciences. The main aim of the economic reform is to create a new system and mechanism for the functioning of the economy. In this context the system proposed by the draft is not clear. In the discussion, the dangers that the economic reform could face were pointed out.

Many documents, it was said, are being worked out by the apparatus which works within the old management structures and by the people who are afraid to lose their positions, who are blocking work on the reform. In many sectors the reform could be implemented now. This applies in particular to the small-scale manufacturing sector.

The deputies were in agreement that the fundamental goal of the economic reform should be to increase the role of the economic [word indistinct], limit the orders from above system of directing the economy and increase the independence of enterprises. Achievement of these goals will depend to a large extent on what steps we take to implement them. It is debatable, for instance, whether one should wait with the economic reform until the country's economy quiets down or whether one should implement the reform now. Postponing the reform and failing to prepare conditions for its implementation causes loss of precious time.

The deputies also pointed out the need to carry out a detailed analysis of the phenomenon of the country's growing indebtedness in the last decade.

#### TRYBUNA LUDU URGES BELT-TIGHTENING PROGRAM

LD071354 Warsaw PAP in English 0816 GMT 7 Apr 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Apr (PAP)--"The depth and structural character of our crisis permit, and the social needs require that in the nearest future we concentrate on no more than a few fundamental objectives. They are: food production, health care, the standard market deliveries and a truly profitable export that would not demand much import", TRYBUNA LUDU wrote.

"That means the soonest possible all the possible means (including foreign currency) should be allocated to the production and import for agriculture, the food industry and the food market, the (?production) of medicines and staple hygiene products, to satisfy the needs of selected branches, mainly the light, machine and chemical industries."

"There is no denying that the concentration of economic activity on a small number of objectives with the simultaneous inevitable food price raises and a freeze on most wages is a programme of tightening the belt. The government should finally state that boldly and openly, if only to (?be able) to perform an appropriate reorganization of the economy, fast, openly and with social assistance."

"Taking all the temporary discomforts, a programme of self-denials is now the only programme which will in the end serve the society", the paper wrote.

Commenting on the new raise in agricultural produce purchasing prices, ZYCIE WARSZAWY wrote that "for farmers, it was a long-awaited decision. The shy attempts at raising purchasing prices last autumn turned out insufficient. Even before they came into force, new decisions had to be taken."

"This time not only the prices were hiked much higher, also proportions between the prices of different farm products were changed."

"The raise should settle a number of problems. It should provide for profitability of agricultural production, and in consequence stimulate increased production of food. This is important not only for those waiting in lines before food shops. However, we must not expect that the raise will have the effect of a magic wand. It will take long for the effects to appear, some months or even longer. Next to prices, farmers also need means of production, machines, fertilizers, coal, fodder, pesticides. Without that, no raises will bring the desired effects", the paper said.

#### PRODUCTION STOPS; ECONOMY CAUGHT IN VICIOUS CIRCLE

LD071627 Paris LE FIGARO in French 3 Apr 81 p 4

[Bernard Margueritte dispatch: "Warsaw: There's Always Something Lacking..."]

[Text] Warsaw--Poland's economic difficulties are not only related to supplies. The drastic reduction in imports, which is very understandable since debt servicing this year amounts to more than the value of all exports to the West, is placing industry in a very difficult position. This problem has just been appropriately illustrated by the newspaper EXPRESS WIECZORNY with an inquiry carried out at the private automobile factory [FSO] in Warsaw's suburbs.

In the final assembly shop, the author reports, any movement has been an "illusion" for weeks. Polish Fiat automobiles are coming off the production line but "they are still not finished." The workers are complaining: "With this output we will not earn enough to buy pepper. What is happening? It's enough to drive you mad; there's always something lacking. This isn't work."

In another shop, where the Polonez is also assembled, "The production line may be moving but it is doing so at a snail's pace and moreover is constantly stopping." At the various work points, "when whole groups [of components] are not missing, individual ones without which assembly is impossible are." The shop foreman runs to and fro between the assembly line and the component store. When the line stops the automatic welding shop, the paint shop and the final assembly shop stop working. When possible, the shop foreman tries to find alternative solutions. "But that necessarily affects the quality of the automobiles, causes a mess and slows down production." The workers here are worried too; they are paid even when the line is not moving but there are no bonuses. "I have a wife and two children," one young man said. "Will we be able to make ends meet?"

### Vicious Circle

Engineer Salamonczyk, the factory's production manager, said bluntly: "Production of Polonez has stopped. In my opinion it will not start again soon. Assembly of the Fiat 125P has stopped too.... For instance, we lack indicators, carburetors, batteries and so forth." What is the reason for this? It is very simple: Many of the 160 factories which cooperate with FSO are not providing the planned supplies.

The director understands very well why: "The people there want to work and earn money, too. But nothing can be done. It is the principle of communicating vessels. It just takes one part, sometimes worth around \$10, to be cut out of imports for our production to stop--and theirs."

In all, however, by some typically Polish miracle, the plan for January and February was fulfilled. But that, too, is an illusion. "Sixty percent of the automobiles which left the production lines during that time," the director confessed, "were not fully equipped. We even reached a stage when we no longer had any room to park the automobiles 'theoretically' produced. I say 'theoretically' because it is a long time since the automobiles we produce--especially those intended for the domestic market--were complete. Even now we have several thousand automobiles here which lack a particular part." The engineer added, and there is good reason to believe him, that putting them back on the production line or completing the assembly in the parking lot when the missing piece arrives is not particularly easy.

The director's conclusion is full of commonsense, although it is hardly reassuring: "I can say one thing: Our entire economy is running in the same way as our factories. We are quite simply crippled." Indeed the tragedy is that the financial difficulties which are reducing imports are causing other disastrous losses for industry which worsen the financial problems and so forth. That is an infernal vicious circle. Nonetheless it must be broken if this country's economy is to recover.

### BRATKOWSKI CITED ON NEED FOR WORK ETHIC

LD080802 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0530 GMT 8 Apr 81

[From the press review]

[Text] "He who does not work does not eat" is the title of Stefan Bratkowski's interesting article in ZYCIE WARSZAWY. The article starts by comparing religions. Catholic and Orthodox Christianity remained the religion of rites, while Protestantism became the religion of work; it was work which, in its view, constituted the most perfect form of prayer. It was this ideological drive which is responsible for the fact that all Protestant countries are ahead of other Christian countries as far as historical civilization-economic development is concerned.

Historic reflections about the existence in our country of the traditional ethics of work are very interesting and it is a pity that there is not enough space to present this thought in full. What about the bureaucracy?

Stefan Bratkowski estimates the numbers of bureaucrats to be nearly a million and a half--bureaucrats, that is people who waste their time, other people's time sometimes and also their talents.

About morality, the author writes. [as heard, nothing further on topic]

Our economy, the mechanization and automation of which is lower than everywhere else in the world, has to maintain one-tenth of the people who can work, sometimes very skilled, healthy people who are not doing anything useful for the community. And one more factor indicates the percentage of the professionally active population employed in the trade: In Japan and the United States it amounts to over 20 percent, in other highly-developed countries no doubt over 15 percent, but in Poland it barely reaches 8 percent. The slogan proposed by Stefan Bratkowski is very simple: Everyone must earn their keep and earn it through work useful to others.

PZPR DELEGATION'S REPORT ON 26TH CPSU CONGRESS

AU051921 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 1 Apr 81 p 2

[PAP report: "Report of the PZPR Delegation to the 26th CPSU Congress"--capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] PAP--AS REPORTED, THE NINTH PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM ADOPTED A UNANIMOUS DECISION ENDORSING THE ACTIVITY OF THE PZPR DELEGATION AT THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS. THE FOLLOWING IS A REPORT BY OUR PARTY'S DELEGATION.

THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS WAS A GREAT EVENT OF LASTING IMPORTANCE NOT ONLY FOR THE PEOPLES OF THE USSR, BUT ALSO FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE PIONEERING MISSION CARRIED OUT BY LENIN'S PARTY IN BUILDING COMMUNISM, AS WELL AS THE ROLE, POSITION AND INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE OF THE LAND OF THE SOVIETS, THAT IS ONLY NATURAL.

THE CONGRESS OF SOVIET COMMUNISTS CONCENTRATED ITS EFFORTS ON THE TWO ORGANICALLY LINKED DIRECTIONS--BUILDING COMMUNISM AND CONSOLIDATING PEACE.

In the internal sphere, the congress outlined strategy for further economic development, a strategy that for many years has been combining economic progress with raising the living standards of the working people. The entire material basis of the Soviet Union has been subordinated to attaining that main goal. "EVERYTHING FOR MAN AND FOR MAN'S BENEFIT"--THAT IS HOW THE PARTY'S GENERAL LINE HAS BEEN TRACED, AND WITHIN IT SOVIET ECONOMIC TASKS AIMED AT ASSUMING COMPREHENSIVE SOCIAL TASKS. An upsurge in the living standards of the Soviet people will be ensured on the basis of the constant national economic development, including increased agricultural and industrial production and the manufacture of consumer goods, and of an accelerated scientific and technical progress.

A contribution toward that will also be made by more rational utilization of the country's production potential, comprehensive economizing in raw and other materials, and primarily by an improvement in the quality and efficiency of labor. That is the essence of the party's economic strategy at the present stage of the development of the USSR. Its implementation is neither easy nor simple. Evidence of that are the congress materials. Also attesting to that were Soviet comrades, who from the congress tribune indicated shortcomings and great and complex problems which are to be settled at present and in the future. Sound criticism, businesslike evaluations and realism in programming, manifested both in the congress documents and the discussion, are an additional premise guaranteeing that the decisions adopted at the congress will be implemented in the sphere of the economic and social development of the USSR. Such an approach to the matters of economic planning and management should also be characteristic of our party's activity.

SOVIET EXPERIENCES WON IN THE COURSE OF CREATING A NEW SYSTEM ARE GREAT AND COMPREHENSIVE. THEY CONSTITUTE A VERY VALUABLE CAPITAL FOR EVERY MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY, IRRESPECTIVE OF NATIONAL SPECIFICS. THEY ARE ALSO OF ESSENTIAL IMPORTANCE FOR BUILDING SOCIALISM IN POLAND.

THE CREATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM-LENINISM

The decisions of the 26th congress and the accountability and program report delivered by the general secretary, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, are of great theoretical and practical importance for building socialism and communism in the USSR and all over the world. THEY CREATIVELY DEVELOP MARXISM-LENINISM AND THE IDEA OF PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM. THEY ARE AN IMPORTANT EVENT IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AND WORKERS MOVEMENT. The Congress proceedings have greatly impressed all its participants and the representatives of the 123 communist and workers parties, national liberation movements and other progressive forces from 109 countries in the world. Such a number of delegations has thus far not been present at any CPSU forum.



In the light of the analysis of development processes and trends, it is evident that further progress has been made in the worldwide revolutionary process. In recent years, a powerful wave of revolutions and social movements has swept the world and continues to be high, contributing toward shaping its new features. A large group of states with socialist orientation has emerged. Many vanguard parties in those countries have proclaimed Marxist-Leninist teaching as a foundation for developing liberated states.

COMRADE LEONID ILICH BREZHNEV EMPHASIZED THAT TASKS CONFRONTING COMMUNIST PARTIES WERE BECOMING INCREASINGLY COMPLEX AND VARIED. That results in differences in evaluations of and attitudes to the settlement of specific problems concerning the class struggle, and at times brings about discussions among parties.

We fully share the CPSU view that such discussions should not lead to splitting our movement's unity and to the weakening of individual parties. Soviet communists rightly came out in favor of a sound constructive criticism in interparty relations, however, excluding such pseudocriticism that distorts socialist reality and provides grist for the mill of anticommunist propaganda. The congress once again confirmed the CPSU line that nobody imposes on anybody any patterns or models disregarding the specifics of the country concerned.

The congress referred to and accepted the well-known Leninist theses about the need to take into account the historic distinctions and the specific forms of the struggle for socialism and the ways of building socialism stemming from the former individual countries, and at the same time strongly emphasized the importance of universal patterns generalized by Marxism-Leninism.

#### THE ESSENCE OF FRATERNAL RELATIONS

WE HIGHLY RESPECT THOSE SPEECHES AT THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS THAT REFERRED TO MUTUAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CPSU, ON THE ONE SIDE, AND FRATERNAL PARTIES, ON THE OTHER, BETWEEN THE USSR AND OTHER STATES OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY. It is known that Soviet communists give priority to those relations. We fully share the CPSU evaluation, expressed by Leonid Brezhnev, that those relations are fair, equal and fraternal. That undoubtedly is credited to close cooperation among fraternal communist parties guided by the need to shape a new socialist type of international relations in the framework of the community. We are undertaking joint steps to further expand direct links of cooperation among regional party organizations, state and administrative institutions, as well as among public organizations and the public in the socialist countries. Notwithstanding the existing contacts of that type, we will strive in that precise way to bring our peoples even closer together.

AS A JOINT FOUNDER OF THE POLITICAL AND DEFENSE ORGANIZATION, THE WARSAW PACT, POLAND HAS ALWAYS ATTACHED MUCH ATTENTION TO ITS EFFICIENT ACTIVITY, REGARDING THAT MULTILATERAL ALLIANCE AS AN INSTRUMENT STABILIZING THE SITUATION IN EUROPE AND ALL OVER THE WORLD AND GUARANTEEING THE EUROPEAN PEACEFUL ORDER shaped as a result of the victory over Hitlerite Fascism. It was precisely from here, from our capital city, that a peaceful appeal was issued on the 25th anniversary of the Warsaw Pact in the declaration of the Political Consultative Committee. The CPSU congress strongly emphasized that the Warsaw Pact reliably served peace and had at its disposal everything needed to defend the socialist conquests of peoples.

IN RELATIONS AMONG THE FRATERNAL SOCIALIST COUNTRIES AS A WHOLE, AN IMPORTANT ROLE BELONGS TO ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN THE CEMA FRAMEWORK. Economic successes attained by the Soviet Union and by each individual member of the socialist community form a weighty contribution to consolidating the potential of our coalition. In the last decade the rates of economic development in our countries were higher than in developed capitalist countries. But at the same time, Leonid Brezhnev stated from the congress tribune, "we are far from portraying the present socialist world in festive colors alone. In the development of our countries there are also difficulties."

The switch of the socialist economy over to intensive development and to implementing enormous social programs cannot be made overnight. It takes time, calls for constant creative inquisitiveness and for adopting from the others the best experiences.

In that context, it is vitally important to better coordinate economic development plans among CEMA member countries, to bring together economic structures and mechanisms, to further develop direct contacts among cooperating economic units, and to set up joint enterprises. We share those assessments and fully second the congress proposal that in the near future economic issues be examined by leaderships of the countries of our socialist community.

ALL OF US ARE PERFECTLY AWARE OF THE FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE OF POLISH-SOVIET RELATIONS OF ALLIANCE, FRIENDSHIP AND FRATERNAL COOPERATION FOR THE CAUSE OF THE UNITY, STRENGTH AND COHESION OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND FOR ENSURING PROSPECTS TO SUCCESSFULLY BUILD SOCIALISM IN OUR COUNTRY. That posture was presented in Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's report and at the meeting held by our delegation to the congress with the Soviet leadership. We highly value the confidence of Soviet comrades in our party, in the political wisdom of the Polish workers class. We highly value the constantly manifested benevolence and deep understanding for our difficulties, as well as willingness to meet us halfway on all issues that are vital to us. That has been concretely manifested in the assistance given to us. That is evidence of authentic solicitude that Poland continue to be an important ally and partner in the struggle for the common ideals of peace and socialism.

The evaluation of the situation in Poland and of the steps taken by the party, the government, by all patriots and the forces of commonsense met with natural interest among the delegates and foreign guests. WE RETURNED FROM THE CONGRESS WITH THE INCREASED CONVICTION THAT OUR PARTY HAD CHOSEN THE CORRECT WAY TO SETTLE THE CRISIS AND THAT WE COULD COUNT ON ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT ON THE PART OF OUR RELIABLE FRIENDS. THAT IS FOR US VERY VALUABLE CAPITAL OF CONFIDENCE AND SUPPORT. WE MUST NOT WASTE THAT CAPITAL.

It is our patriotic and internationalist duty to bring Poland out of the present crisis, to stabilize the internal situation and to provide favorable conditions for undisturbed socialist development. The participants in the CPSU congress met that idea with full approval. We presented that idea at the congress as an opinion shared by all Poles who want to live and work in peace, by all who want to build socialism.

#### THE DEFENSE OF PEACE IS THE SUPREME GOAL

AS A SOCIALIST WORLD POWER, THE SOVIET UNION EXERTS A DECISIVE INFLUENCE ON SHAPING THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. ITS CONSISTENTLY PEACEFUL FOREIGN POLICY, BASED ON THE LENINIST PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, HELPS CONSOLIDATE PEACE, DETENTE AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. The congress found peace to be the supreme goal in the international activity of the Soviet state. For that exact reason Comrade Leonid Brezhnev brought forward at the congress new ideas and important constructive proposals whose implementation would remove the specter of war, would guarantee a peaceful future for world peoples and would ensure for every person in the world the most important right--to live. That is the supreme and very humane goal pursued by the USSR in its foreign policy. The peace program for the eighties is thus the continuation and creative development of the historic peace program outlined by the 24th and 25th CPSU Congresses. Its leitmotiv is the Marxist-Leninist analysis of the present extremely complex international situation and, on its basis, efforts to deepen the process of international detente.

The assessment of the political situation in the world, made at the congress, shows that the state of East-West relations, and particularly that of USSR-United States relations, exerts a decisive influence on its shaping.

Tensions jeopardizing political detente in the continent of Europe and all over the world have been occurring in those relations for a long time. The causes of that should also be sought in the NATO circles that initiate and whip up an intensified arms race, disregarding political realities and who call on the West to deal with the East from the position of strength.

The Near East conflict, unsettled for years, is continuing. Tensions are increasing in the direct neighborhoods, in the Middle East and in the region of the Persian Gulf, and the situation is deteriorating in the Indian Ocean area. Positive settlements are still to be found for many parts of Africa, and particularly for the south, and the stabilization of the situation in Southeast Asia has been constantly threatened from outside.

World tension is being constantly aggravated by the indiscriminatory political propaganda campaign against the policy of the Soviet Union and against unity among the countries of the socialist community.

THE LAND OF THE SOVIETS CONSTANTLY OPPOSES THAT AGGRESSIVE POLICY OF IMPERIALISM WITH THE PROPOSALS OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS AIMED AT CONSOLIDATING THE PROCESS OF DETENTE AND PEACE.

That orientation in Soviet policy meets the most vital interests of the Polish people and is in line with their aspirations and activities in the international arena. We have long been repeating that there is no reasonable alternative to the policy of detente. For many years we have been doing our best to build a Europe of security, a Europe of states cooperating among themselves. We were pleased at the statement repeated in the congress report that the decisions of the Final CSCE Act endeavored actually to transform all of Europe into a sphere of peace. At a time when some forces in the West are juggling with the term "detente," it was very appropriate to remember that fact.

#### IMPORTANT DETENTE PROPOSALS

THE 26th CPSU CONGRESS ADOPTED A PEACE PROGRAM WHOSE MAIN PRINCIPLE IS TO CONTINUE THE DIALOGUE ABOUT ALL THE MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEMS, TO INVIGORATE ALL THE EXISTING CONTACTS AND TO CREATE NEW BASES FOR NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. THAT PROGRAM OPENS FOR US NEW PROSPECTS FOR ACTIVITY, PRIMARILY TO IMPLEMENT THE PRINCIPLES OF THE FINAL CSCE ACT, NOTWITHSTANDING OUR INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES. IN THAT RESPECT WE WILL CONTINUE TO BE ACTIVE, BECAUSE THAT IS IN OUR POLISH INTEREST AND IN A BROADER, EUROPEAN INTEREST. IT IS IN THE INTEREST OF THE WORLD.

Unequivocally positive responses all over the world have been aroused by Comrade Leonid Brezhnev's statement that the Soviet Union was prepared for an active dialogue with the United States.

We attach enormous attention to Soviet proposals concerning military detente and disarmament. They are in line with our Polish aspirations and with the feelings of all sensible political forces in Europe. Without a pronounced advance in the sphere of military detente it is impossible to make further advances on the path of political detente in our continent. Moreover, the realization of that truth has for long been characteristic of the policy pursued by the USSR and its allies. Evidence of that are numerous proposals previously made by the Soviet Union, Poland and other Warsaw Pact member countries. They are valid, and many of them, such as guarantees for non-nuclear states, an agreement on non-application of force in relations among European states, and the holding of a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe, have now become even more topical as instruments necessary to consolidate security for European states.

WE ARE VITALLY INTERESTED IN HALTING THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE IN EUROPE. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN TO DEPLOY NEW KINDS OF AMERICAN NUCLEAR MISSILES IN SOME WEST EUROPEAN STATES IS DIRECTED AGAINST THE SECURITY OF ALL EUROPEAN NATIONS.

The Soviet Union counters those plans with proposals on a quantitative and qualitative moratorium, including immediate talks on curbing and reducing nuclear armament in Europe. That is consistent with our national interests. No state in Europe can increase its security as the nuclear arsenals of the two sides continue to grow. The feeling of security based on new armament programs is illusory. The USSR's declaration that it is ready to begin negotiations on curbing all kinds of armaments plays an important role for world peace in that context.

THE MEANS OF CREATING TRUST HAVE OCCUPIED FOR MANY YEARS AN IMPORTANT PLACE AMONG ALL ACTIVITIES TO STRENGTHEN MILITARY DETENTE. We trust that the new Soviet proposals in that regard will pave the road to genuine and important disarmament accords. AS A COUNTRY THAT PROPOSED IN MADRID THAT WARSAW SHOULD HOST A CONFERENCE ON MILITARY DETENTE AND DISARMAMENT IN EUROPE, POLAND WELCOMES WITH PRAISE THE SOVIET READINESS TO EXTEND THE SPHERE OF SUCH MEANS TO THE ENTIRE AREA OF THE EUROPEAN USSR, ON CONDITION THAT THE WEST RECIPROCATES ACCORDINGLY.

The world forces of progress are interested in the positive results of the Madrid meeting and in a conference on military detente and disarmament. The Soviet proposal makes that opportunity more feasible. We expect the West to make a similar proposal. On our part, we will do everything to help achieve agreement on holding such a conference. We are for toning down regional tensions and conflicts. The Middle East conflict, which has not been solved to this day, gives rise to justified concern. We support the Soviet proposal to call an international conference on the Middle East. Our positive attitude to that proposal has its source also in the fact that we have participated for many years in the UN peaceful actions in that region.

The postulate that the security of the Persian Gulf states be guaranteed, and the USSR's declared readiness to comprehensively solve the situation in Afghanistan, are valuable manifestations. We support the USSR's proposals for negotiations between the states concerned on the means of creating trust in the military sphere in the Far East. The congress was right to criticize the adventurist, hegemonist and anti-Soviet policy of China. At the same time, the congress renewed the constructive offer to normalize interstate relations on neighborly principles. Our party fully supports that stand. The international atmosphere would improve if Beijing would change its present policy, normalize its relations with the USSR and commit itself to the policy of detente, consolidation of peace and security.

We believe that the implementation of Leonid Brezhnev's idea of a summit meeting of the Security Council members, with the possible participation of other interested states, would be of good service in gradually eliminating various hotbeds of tension and unrest in the world.

Because of the Security Council's extensive powers, large powers' participation in it, as well as medium and small states representing all the world's regions, would make the adopted decisions a crucial element of the process of peaceful and just solutions of conflict situations in various regions of the world. [sentence as published]

THE PROGRAM FOR PEACE ACTIVITIES, ADOPTED BY THE CONGRESS, REAFFIRMED THE USSR'S LEADING ROLE AMONG ALL THE FORCES OF SOCIALISM AND PROGRESS. The program serves the interests of the working people and responds to the world nations' aspirations. That is why it enjoys their trust and support.

Our party expresses the conviction that, on the strength of collective wisdom of the great socialist family and the active support by the forces of progress, we will guarantee peace for the world, which is mankind's supreme benefit. We expressed this position at the congress and in bilateral talks.

#### Lenin's Party's Achievements

THE 26TH CPSU CONGRESS' ACHIEVEMENTS IN PARTY CONSTRUCTION, IN DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOVIET STATE AND IN INTENSIFICATION OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY ARE AN OBJECT OF GREAT GENERAL INTEREST. The successes of the Soviet Union are indissolubly linked to the leading role of the Soviet Communist Party. During the time since the 25th party congress, the CPSU has increased and strengthened its ranks, and the party's worker-peasant backbone has consolidated. That is no accident because, having become a party of all the people, the CPSU has not lost its class character. Lenin's party was and is the party of the workers class. The past years have proven that in the developed socialist society, the party's role continues to increase.

Each Marxist-Leninist party should always perfect the methods of running the individual spheres of sociopolitical life, observe the principles of democratic centralism, promote democracy and consolidate the Leninist norms of internal party life.



In that context, it is necessary to profoundly analyze the congress documents. In light of the present plenum, the study of the comprehensive achievements of Soviet communists will be beneficial for our work too. That is because the congress has produced extremely rich materials which we should consult and take advantage of.

THE CONGRESS' ACHIEVEMENTS IN IDEOLOGICAL AND EDUCATIONAL WORK, AND IN INTENSIFYING SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST SOCIAL AWARENESS, ARE USEFUL AND EXTREMELY VALUABLE. THEY CALL FOR COMPREHENSIVE STUDY. The congress firmly stressed the Soviet people's ideological and sociopolitical unity, as well as the indissoluble and monolithic alliance between the workers class, the collective peasants and the intelligentsia. Today that unity is stronger than ever before. The congress paid great attention to the issues of the socialist way of life and efforts to mold a new man. Training the people in the spirit of esteem for work, patriotism and socialist internationalism is the central task in that regard.

In our report, we have concentrated only on some of the issues discussed by the historic CPSU Congress. It is impossible to represent in a brief report all the congress' enormous achievements. Nor is it possible to fully recreate the congress' atmosphere. The congress' entire work proceeded in the spirit of the unity and cohesion of the great CPSU. That unity and cohesion make the CPSU a mighty and reliable guarantee of the successes of Soviet communists, who are rallied round the Central Committee, the Politburo and General Secretary Comrade Leonid Brezhnev. The congress discussion was principled and meaningful, and its character was creative yet at the same time critical and self-critical. The discussion expressed the Soviet communists' great concern for accelerating the rate of socioeconomic development, and the complete trust in and support for the Leninist line of the party and its leadership. The Soviet Union is marching on and is accelerating its march to communism.

During the 26th CPSU Congress, our party was invited to pay a friendly visit to GLORIOUS VOLGOGRAD. We studied the fine records of the city's history and the prospects of the Volgograd region.

The Felix Dzerzhynskiy tractor plant workers prepared a cordial welcome for our delegation. The plant managers told us about achievements and further development. The meeting with the plant's industrious and ambitious workforce, which was organized to mark our visit, transformed itself into a demonstration of Polish-Soviet friendship.

Our delegation toured the LENINIST GORKIY NEAR MOSCOW, where Vladimir Lenin, leader of the October Revolution and the creator of the first worker-peasant state, spent his last working years.

We were met with great interest and cordiality everywhere, at every step. Our meetings were marked by interest in our country's affairs, in progress in solving our crisis, in stabilization of the situation and in preparations for the Ninth PZPR Congress. They were also marked by concern for the activities of the antisocialist forces. We discussed those issues during our friendly meeting with the CPSU leaders on 4 March. THAT MEETING ONCE AGAIN CONFIRMED THE ACCORD OF OUR VIEWS. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP EXPRESSED COMPLETE SUPPORT FOR OUR PARTY AND FOR THE POLISH WORKERS CLASS, AND REAFFIRMED THE FRATERNAL FRIENDSHIP FOR THE POLISH PEOPLE. EVALUATING THE COURSE AND RESULTS OF THE MEETING, THE PZPR POLITBURO STRESSED ITS GREAT IMPORTANCE FOR DEVELOPING FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION BETWEEN THE PZPR AND THE CPSU--BETWEEN THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AND THE USSR.

Undoubtedly, the 26th CPSU Congress will play a great role in the life of the Soviet Union and will be of great importance for the community of the socialist states and the international communist and workers movement, as well as for further struggle for progress and for strengthening peace and international security. OUR PARTY, WHICH IS TIED TO THE CPSU BY IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL BONDS, AND OUR COUNTRY, WHICH IS A RELIABLE ALLY OF THE USSR AND A RELIABLE ELEMENT OF THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY, WILL BACK THE SOVIET UNION'S EFFORTS FOR THE BENEFIT OF PEACE AND DETENTE AND WILL DRAW ON THE GREAT VALUES OF THE FRATERNAL PARTY'S EXPERIENCE AND ACHIEVEMENTS.

USSR WOULD BE 'SOLELY RESPONSIBLE' FOR BLOODSHED

LDO70653 Rome AVANTI in Italian 29-30 Mar 81 pp 1, 20

[Jiri Pelikan article: "Moscow Working for a Break"]

[Text] Following Friday's vote by 10 million Polish citizens, including many Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] members, for a strike, thus expressing their support for Solidarity and for the forces within the party and the government that are in favor of dialogue and renewal, today sees a meeting of a small group of party officials, called the Central Committee, which is preparing to take decisions affecting the future of the Polish people. This gulf between the real country and the leadership group again reveals the real crux of the crisis in the system of "real socialism" and its Soviet model.

The crucial nature of this meeting stems from the fact that it is taking place on the eve of the general strike announced for Tuesday 31 March and while the Soviet and Warsaw Pact troops continue their maneuvers, penetrating Polish territory from all points. It is no coincidence that the Soviet leaders and dogmatic local leaders always try at moments of unrest among the people or within the Communist Party to reverse the situation by holding a Central Committee meeting; in this situation the grass roots pressure demands immediate changes at the top, in the leadership, while the Central Committee, because of its very composition, is the residue of the previous leadership and is therefore essentially opposed to any renewal process. In this case the dogmatists of Moscow, Prague and Berlin, but also Warsaw, are demanding that today's PZPR Central Committee meeting "reverse the trend of events"--as stated in the Moscow communique--both by imposing the "hardline path" on Kania and Jaruzelski and by replacing them with leaders willing to unleash repression through the Polish police forces or through fraternal aid from the USSR and the "allies." In these circles it is expected that the Sejm meeting scheduled for Monday will declare a state of emergency and with it a ban on all strikes, thus unloading all responsibility for the crisis onto Walesa's Solidarity. Under these circumstances the Polish police could intervene against Tuesday's general strike with external assistance from the Warsaw Pact forces already on Polish territory or ready on the borders.

The question that we are all asking ourselves is this: Why has the situation deteriorated so rapidly over the past few days, after a climate of hope and compromise was established with the appearance of General Jaruzelski's government? There are many rumors in the West that Solidarity is perhaps overstating its demands and dramatizing local incidents, such as those at Bydgoszcz, where trade union leaders were savagely beaten by the police forces. Some Italian papers are talking in terms of the blame lying with "hawks" on both sides. Almost espousing the thesis that if the workers abandoned the strike everything would be fine.

This is completely false: The reasons for the present tension lie exclusively in the attitude adopted by Moscow, which since the 26th CPSU Congress has been daily increasing the pressure on the Polish leaders to "reverse the course," that is, to stifle the independent trade union and phenomena of democratization of the system so as to return to the single party's power monopoly. This is an answer to all those who still believed in the validity of Brezhnev's remarks at the Moscow congress concerning the possibility of different paths to socialism! At this very moment official Soviet propaganda is accusing the Polish press and television, still under PZPR censorship, of antisocialism because they discuss the strike!

This pressure has produced results: The brutal police attack on trade unionists at Bydgoszcz was aimed not solely at Solidarity to prompt an open conflict but also and perhaps primarily at General Jaruzelski's government and at the forces in the PZPR leadership favoring a dialogue with the masses and negotiated solutions. To increase the pressure Brezhnev imposed the Warsaw Pact maneuvers on the Polish leaders.

It is difficult to imagine greater political and moral cynicism than that reflected in the fact that, in a country whose feelings are known and that is troubled by economic and political problems, military maneuvers are being carried out in full public view in the name of "brotherhood." It should be remembered that Brezhnev himself imposed similar military maneuvers on Czechoslovakia in June 1968, when the internal situation stabilized and when the Czechoslovak Communist Party congress was convened, and that a year after the Soviet invasion Bilak said, issuing a verdict on Alexander Dubcek, that "he failed to understand that the June 1968 maneuvers were an important form of Soviet assistance to the Czechoslovak Communist Party in mobilizing itself and expelling the revisionists".

This Soviet pressure, which in the last few days has escalated, presents both the Solidarity leaders and the party and government leaders with a very difficult dilemma. Those in Italy and the West who accuse the trade union of pressing ahead too far must remember that Solidarity and the entire Polish working class have demonstrated great discipline, patience and realism and that none of their adversaries has suffered any violence--and indeed, as one trade union bulletin states, "not a single window has been broken." On the other hand, many trade union leaders have suffered violence from the police and, above all, of the 21 points in the Gdansk agreements of late August 1980 only 4 have been implemented and the majority are in abeyance, especially the law that is supposed to guarantee the very existence of the independent trade union and the right to strike. This is why Solidarity is aiming at negotiations as the principal way of defending the workers' interests; but for the time being it cannot abandon its only weapon for asserting its opinion, namely, the strike and pressure from public opinion. On the other hand the party and government leaders favoring a compromise need to prove to the Soviet leaders that they are in control of the situation, and this is why they are asking the trade union for a period of calm and for a commitment to increase production. But they can only achieve this if they are able to restore control over the police and certain sectors of the state and party apparatus, whose provocations always pose a question about the government's good will and prompt defensive reactions from the workers.

In this situation, in which everyone has his back to the wall, the only hope lies in a compromise between Solidarity and the forces within the PZPR sincerely in favor of renewal and dialogue. We have already said in this newspaper that in a system of "real socialism" nothing can be changed without an alliance between the masses, represented by Solidarity, and the party sectors which recognize the need for gradual economic and political reforms. Such forces do exist within the PZPR, as shown by thousands of resolutions passed by the grass roots organizations and sent to the PZPR leadership with demands for change. The latest demonstration was the large-scale support for Friday's strike from PZPR members, despite an appeal in the opposite direction from the party leadership. We can only hope that Kania and the other party leaders, together with General Jaruzelski, will manage to use this force for renewal within the party in tackling the conservative forces' attempt to reverse the course of events, even at the cost of bloodshed and Soviet intervention. They can also depend on the willingness of the Polish Catholic Church to guarantee with its moral authority this compromise which could open the way to national reconciliation and a new and real stability based on the consensus of the majority of citizens. Unity between Solidarity and the working class and its desire for a compromise are another guarantee that such a process is possible, indeed the only possible one.

But if our hope is destroyed and we do witness the bloodshed of which Deputy Prime Minister Rakowski has spoken, it must be clear to the public that the responsibility for this tragedy lies solely with the USSR, which sends the Western leaders Brezhnev's letters containing peace proposals while at the same time preventing the Polish people from deciding their own future by agreement among Poles. This is why there must also be a clear response from the socialist and democratic forces in Italy and throughout the world to any attempt to stifle the renewal process in Poland by force.

IMPORTANCE OF SOVIET AID, LOAN MORATORIUM STRESSED

LD071658 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] Poland counts on foreign credits. This problem is being dealt with during talks held by our statesmen, including by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Jagielski in talks in Paris and Washington. Aid for our economy is needed and it is not surprising that the people are pleased that the EEC countries have agreed to sell us the most needed articles at prices 15 percent below world prices.

However, we must bear in mind that most essential for us is the assistance from the Soviet Union. It alleviates the sharp economic tensions and meets shortages in supplies. Every day the press carries information about deliveries sold under conditions of long-term, low interest loans. But it is not the supplies of such needed raw materials like cotton, artificial fertilizers, apatites or fodder that matters.

The Soviet Union is a country which helps us to pay our debts to the capitalist countries, and few bear that in mind. An instance of such aid is Soviet credit in convertible currencies amounting to \$190 million for the purchase of food, as well as nonrepayable, financial assistance amounting to \$465 million. Thus it transpires that while it is true that we import food from the West, from the United States and the EEC countries, it is first of all true that the bill for this food is paid by the Soviet Union.

Of immense importance for the improvement of our situation has also been the Soviet decision on a moratorium for the payments of loans and credits payable in 1981. In all, the aid from our neighbor is being estimated at nearly \$1.3 billion. At the same time, we must remember that thanks to this Poland can in an appropriate way restrict expenditure on the import of those goods from the capitalist countries. In the acutely difficult payments situation of our country this is of colossal importance.

One might think these to be obvious truths, but they should be recalled because all the time we forget, when we learn about Western aid to Poland, that the true payer of this assistance is indeed the Soviet Union. This is an example of friendship and of the desire for our country to get out of the current crisis we are experiencing and be able to continue to work for the development of the socialist society.

PLANS FOR AGRICULTURAL CONTRACTS WITH U.S. VIEWED

LD071616 Warsaw PAP in English 1427 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Apr (PAP)--"We want to totally revise the principles of importing grain and fodder from the developed countries. To date these imported goods have conditioned our results in animal production and our foreign turnover," said Professor Szczepan Pieniazek, the head of the Polish group which took part in the Washington meeting of a Polish-American Economic Council agriculture cooperation team. The meeting was devoted to the rationalization of agriculture's demand for means to increase vegetable production.

In his interview for today's TRYBUNA LUDU, the professor went on: "We think that we can considerably limit the import of agricultural products and give the countryside cheaper and more effective plant protection means."

"We informed the American side of our intention to develop cooperation in agricultural chemization and technization. More precisely, we are waiting for a contract from the McDonald's chain for a small--for the time being--plantation of American potatoes.

"I hope that in a few weeks' time we will have more definite conclusions and decisions. The next session of the working team is to take place on May 27 in Warsaw. The American side is to present a detailed answer to our Washington proposals."



FURTHER REPORTAGE ON DISTURBANCES IN KOSOVO

## Settling of Accounts Launched

LD071752 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1657 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Summary] Pristina, 7 Apr (TANJUG)--"All Kosovo collectives are working at full steam." Production, which had been disrupted here and there due to emergency measures and curfew, has now been fully normalized. There are collectives in which absenteeism is only symbolic and sick leave has been reduced to a minimum. In addition to greater work endeavors, in nearly all Kosovo collectives, local communities, schools, faculties and other organizations and communities meetings are held at which working people, the young and citizens are being acquainted in detail with the background to the open and brutal attack by the enemy on the integrity of Kosovo and our entire community. "Following last night's session of the provincial committee of the LC of Kosovo, a broad sociopolitical action of fully unmasking the enemy and settling accounts in an ideopolitical manner with the organizers of and participants in enemy activity has already been launched today. To those who had obviously been deceived it is becoming clear that what had been at stake was an unscrupulous and direct attack on the brightest gains of our revolution, the brotherhood and unity of our nations and nationalities and integrity of our areas." There are plenty of examples of honest people who, in the most difficult moments of physical attacks by the enemy, had prevented the worst. "For the most sincere and the most suspicious it should be stated once again: Life and work in Kosovo, in places where they were disrupted for a short time through the emergence of a perfidious enemy, are entering normal channels, with even greater consciousness about the need for constant vigilance."

## Life 'Returning to Normal'

LD072330 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2110 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] Pristina, 7 Apr (TANJUG)--According to reports from various localities in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, southern Yugoslavia, life is returning to normal again.

Production was interrupted in places because of the introduction of emergency measures and restrictions on movement, but is now fully back to normal.

The emergency measures were imposed after acts of vandalism at the hands of small nationalist and irredentist groups who smashed shop windows, overturned cars, and even shot at militiamen.

Such acts were qualified as hostile and jeopardizing the integrity and unity of Yugoslavia as a multi-national federation. Groups of nationalists even attempted to break into some factories and force workers to join them.

The workers of Albanian nationality in overwhelming numbers threw those small groups out of their factories which intensively produced goods at Podujevo, Urosevac and other towns in Kosovo today.

The past events "endangered everything that has been built for forty years," it was said at last night's session of the League of Communists of Kosovo provincial committee which was widely followed here. The evaluation that it is "now or never" for the inhabitants of Kosovo to safeguard the nonaligned, self-management community of Yugoslavia's nations and nationalities has also drawn attention here.

In line with this appeal, a broad political action for unmasking the nationalist demands and revealing their true objectives was started in the province today.

The normalization of the situation has also made it possible to learn of the examples set by people who risked their lives to stop the nationalists.

For instance, an ethnic Albanian in Pristina gave shelter in his house to two wounded security men, although the nationalists threatened to set his house ablaze.

In the town of Lipuani, a group of inhabitants joined several militiamen and dispersed demonstrators very quickly.

#### OFFICIALS, GROUPS CRITICIZE RECENT KOSOVO VIOLENCE

##### LCY Central Committee

LD071932 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1837 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Apr (TANJUG)--The 18th session of the LCY Central Committee was held in Belgrade today. At the session a report was submitted on the topical events in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and on the measures taken on the basis of the attitudes and decisions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the SFRY Presidency and the top organs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The Central Committee adopted the report and approved the measures taken.

##### TU Presidium

LD081118 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1320 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 7 April (TANJUG)--Nationalistic and irredentist counterrevolutionary activity of enemy forces in Kosovo demand that we persist even more energetically with the implementation of all the goals of the economic stabilization and the tasks set by the social development plan for the current medium-term period. This was the position adopted today by the Presidium of the Council of the Trade Union Federation of Yugoslavia along with the comment that precisely in this way those problems which the enemy had tried to use for his aims would be overcome.

The debate at the session focused on the particularly serious problem of the present economic situation--a shortage of raw materials and reproduction material which threaten production. It was also stressed that there was slow reaction to the stagnation in production and to the resources not being fully used. A shortage of raw materials and a fall in production also threaten exports. Therefore, we cannot be satisfied with the growth in exports at the beginning of the year. The way out of this situation is on a greater insistence on a linkage with income and in the pooling of labor and resources.

Mika Spiljak pointed out that the consumption in the entire society was based on a 100 percent amount of the planned production, that is, at a level of 3.5 percent. The growth in production, however, was not realized in accordance with the plan and was even low compared with last year. Therefore, it is necessary to energetically place before all factors which are concerned in society with the distribution of income the demand for a reduction in consumption at all levels, particularly in the investment sphere, in order that continuous planning be implemented.

In the discussion, the need for a better method of making good the losses in some 1,500 work organizations, which employ 330,000 persons, was particularly stressed. The debts of these organizations of associated labor amount now to 19.4 billion dinars.

The negative effects of the economic activity, the shortage of raw materials and reproduction material, the drop in exports, high illiquidity and the increase in joint consumption threaten efforts aimed at economic stabilization and further threaten to make difficult the economic activity. This was the warning sounded at the session.

Kosovo LC Committee

LD071418 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1116 GMT 7 Apr 81

["Conclusions of Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Session"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Pristina, 7 Apr (TANJUG)--At the end of its session last night which was devoted to an assessment of the political and security situation in Kosovo, the Kosovo League of Communists provincial committee adopted the following conclusions:

The Kosovo League of Communists provincial committee judged that the demonstrations and hostile actions in Pristina and some other places in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo are of a counterrevolutionary nature. They form an integral part of organized activity by the internal and external enemy on the lines of Albanian nationalism and irredentism and are an integral part of the counterrevolutionary struggle against socialist self-management as the most democratic system of direct participation by the working class and working masses in managing the affairs of the social community. The demonstrations and disturbances organized by hostile antiself-management and irredentist elements are aimed at causing instability in Kosovo, confrontation between the Albanian nationality and the other nations and nationalities of Kosovo and Yugoslavia, breaking up the brotherhood and unity created in joint struggle in the national liberation war and socialist construction, and the destruction of the political system of socialist self-management. They were calculated to threaten the independence and territorial integrity of the SFRY, and to compromise Yugoslavia in the world as a country of peace, friendship between all peoples and with a nonaligned policy.

The demonstrations and hostile actions deeply contradict the essential and joint interests and aspirations of the Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Muslims, Turks and others in Kosovo. That is why they met with sharp criticism by, above all, the Albanian and all other nations and nationalities both in Kosovo and in the whole of our socialist community. In their decisive struggle to expose and prevent hostile activity and to eliminate their effects, and by ensuring peace, order and the unhindered development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo on the bases of socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity and the equality of all our nations and nationalities, the working class, working people, young people and citizens and all organized socialist forces led by the Kosovo League of Communists have the unreserved support of the whole of the LCY and of all our nations and nationalities.

The League of Communists and all organized socialist forces in Kosovo, by involving themselves in the consistent realization of the policy of the LCY and of our socialist federative community, are waging an uncompromising battle against all aspects of hostile activity which arises from positions of Albanian nationalism and irredentism, as well as against all attempts at taking advantage of this complex situation by nationalistic elements in the ranks of the Serbian, Montenegrin, and other nations and nationalities.

The Kosovo League of Communists provincial committee noted that the political and security situation in Kosovo is complex, due to the organized and brutal activity of the enemy which wants to create instability and insecurity and is attempting to expand its activity in various ways. Therefore, it is essential that all Kosovo League of Communists organizations and leaderships concentrate their intensive actions on those topical questions which have been imposed by the current political situation.

They should orient the work of all sociopolitical organizations, self-management and other organs and all organized socialist forces everywhere, in the municipalities and the province, in this ideopolitical direction.

The actions of the League of Communists and of all sociopolitical organizations at this time should be aimed, above all, at realizing the following tasks: The Kosovo League of Communists--in the broadest mobilization of all organized subjective forces in the province and municipalities--should ensure complete, timely and well-argued information on the hostile actions, their character and aims in all local communities and all organizations of associated labor.

With the greatest attention and resolve it should expose the counterrevolutionary and reactionary essence and anti-Albanian content of the political slogans which the hostile elements advanced and continue to advance, in their attempts to manipulate uninformed people. In this way, we will be most successful in eliminating the misinformation and lies which individuals and groups with hostile orientations deliberately and maliciously spread among the citizens.

The provincial committee calls on all communists, workers, agricultural workers, working people and citizens to be involved everywhere and in a comprehensive way in securing normal work in the province, and to increase production in all organizations of associated labor, the successful completion of sowing work and the realization of other economic stabilization tasks, to ensure regular supplies, the maintenance and improvement of the standard of living of working people, and the realization of the province's development plans.

Communists should advocate that self-management organs in secondary schools and high schools, self-management interest communities and delegate assemblies analyze the causes why some young people at secondary schools and university took part in the demonstrations. They should then take suitable measures to prevent such disturbances in future and to ensure normal work in the schools. League of Communists organizations and the Socialist Youth Federation should be involved in this.

The resolute involvement of all League of Communists members and leaderships in the intensification and orientation of the work of all sociopolitical organizations is essential.

Of exceptional significance is the broadest rallying and political guidance of the working class and all working people in trade union organizations and the Socialist Youth Federation, as well as their broadest rallying, guidance and involvement in the SAWP.

We need to resolutely change the practice and behavior of being isolated within forums and groups, and to proceed to mass meetings in all Socialist Alliance organizations, to stimulate the creative initiative of the working masses. In this way citizens will be informed most quickly, political activity will be guided and their involvement in the specific tasks of their own environment will be ensured.

In all sociopolitical organizations, communists are dutybound to be directly involved in mobilizing the broadest masses for the most topical tasks imposed by this situation, and to continue to strengthen the unity and involvement of the broadest masses in realizing the policy of the LCY.

It is essential to include in these actions and involve socially--through ideopolitical and educational activity--those individual young people and citizens who were deceived by the demagogic slogans of the enemy who demonstrates their hostile and harmful character in relation to the unity of all the nations and nationalities and our socialist community.



All organizations and every member of the Kosovo League of Communists are obliged to be involved, directly and personally, and with the greatest responsibility--through socio-political organizations and organizations of associated labor--in the continued strengthening of equality, brotherhood and unity, the continued deepening of trust and the strengthening of [the spirit of] community between all the nations and nationalities in Kosovo, in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the whole of our country. We need to fight even more forcefully and specifically against all aspects and exponents of nationalistic and chauvinistic activity and the undermining of trust between our nations and nationalities.

This situation also demonstrated the significance, strength and unity of the system of all people's defense and social self-protection. Therefore, we need to continue to develop and consolidate the system of all-people's defence and social self-protection, particularly in the basic organization of associated labor, the local community and the municipality.

Basic organizations and organs of the League of Communists must devote even more attention to the training and general [word indistinct] of the committees for all-people's defense and social self-protection, particularly in local communities and basic organizations of associated labor. The committees should devote special attention to constantly monitoring and realistically assessing the political and security situation, as well as coordinating all activities in this sphere on their territory and taking suitable measures in their own areas.

The provincial committee calls on all communists, working people, citizens and young people in Kosovo to voluntarily and with full responsibility join in the successful functioning of the system of an all-people's defense and social self-protection, so as to oppose in an organized way the initiators of the disturbances and the violence and to prevent the violation of public order and peace, and to secure normal living and working conditions for the working people and citizens of Kosovo.

In consistent and forceful involvement in all the basic tasks imposed by the current situation, we need to reaffirm in specific action the revolutionary force, wisdom, capability and responsibility of the League of Communists, and of every organization and leadership, as well as the consistency of every League of Communists member in Kosovo in relation to the policy and line of the LCY. The direct involvement and the successful realization of these tasks will be the best confirmation of the true ideopolitical orientation of every League of Communists member in favor of the policy of the LCY. This will ensure the ideopolitical and action unity of all Kosovo League of Communist organizations and leadership and ideopolitical differentiation in them.

The League of Communists and all organized socialist forces are obliged to continue the struggle for normal work in an even more organized way, permanently and resolutely, as well as to resolutely oppose any opportunism, inertia and passive expectation with their full personal responsibility.

The Kosovo League of Communists provincial committee charges the Kosovo League of Communists provincial committee Presidium, all League of Communist municipal organizations and their organs, as well as every basic organization and member of the League of Communists, with comprehensively and critically assessing the political situation and their own activity in every environment, as well as with setting out direct tasks for decisive, organized and specific ideopolitical activity and action to carry them out. This will be the best way to most efficiently consolidate the unity of the League of Communists and of all organized socialist forces and the unity of the working class and or nations and nationalities. We will thus be able to overcome our present difficulties more easily and ensure general and lasting stabilization in the province with full support from the whole of our socialist community.

The provincial committee adopts the report by Comrade Mahmut Bakali, and the assessments and suggestions made at this session.

The provincial committee notes that the public statements by Comrades Fadilj Hodza, Dzavid Nimanj and Aslan Fazlija had a strong influence on the correct political orientation of communists and all working people and citizens, as well as on their involvement in the struggle against hostile elements and the reactionary and counterrevolutionary essence of their slogans and intentions.

The provincial committee emphasizes the significance of the involvement of prominent revolutionaries and all cadres in Kosovo who were in the communes, the province, republic, federation, Yugoslav Peoples Army, the security organs and the other cadres, who through their direct involvement and activities in organizations of associated labor, local communities, villages and schools, in the Socialist Alliance and other sociopolitical organizations, self-management organs and the delegate system, explained to citizens the current situation in Kosovo, exposed the essence of the hostile intentions, prevented vandalism and other damage to all-people's property and the personal property of citizens, and thus contributed much to ensuring that working people understood and criticized the hostile elements and became involved in the struggle against them.

The provincial committee Presidium will prepare for the provincial committee a total analysis of the situation and of the work of the League of Communists in the province, and on that occasion suitable conclusions will be adopted.

#### More on Kosovo LC

AU072117 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Milisav Milic report from Pristina]

[Excerpts] Assessing the political security situation in the province, the provincial committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo has expressed its unanimous position that the well-known Tito dictum, "from words to deeds," should be consistently followed. The demonstrations in Pristina and other places in the provinces were directed against our greatest values. The demonstrators manifested their nationalism and irredentism in the most primitive way. The progressive forces of Kosovo have stood against counterrevolution and the senseless destructive activities of a handful of miserable traitors, as Fadilj Hodza called the demonstrators.

The spirit of the session of the provincial committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo was transmitted today to work collectives, local communities, university faculties, schools and various institutions. A strong political offensive has started from which a true differentiation and consequent measures against the actors in the demonstrations in Pristina and eight other cities and towns of the province are expected. It is certain that the League of Communists of Kosovo will emerge from this political offensive both more united and stronger, so that the struggle for economic stabilization and the further development of self-management and socialist democracy may be continued with even greater intensity.

#### Pristina University Meetings

AU080810 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] A meeting of the communist teachers and workers of the faculty of economics in Pristina today sharply denounced the hostile demonstrations provoked recently in the capital and other places of our province, and fully supported the positions, measures and tasks proceeding from Fadilj Hodza's speech, Dzavid Nimanj's statement, Mahmur Bakali's report and the conclusions of the session of the provincial committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo.

In a wide discussion, in which Riza Alja, member of the provincial committee of the League of Communists, spoke in addition to workers of this higher education institution, the political and security situation in the province was discussed and specific priority tasks which at this moment face the communists and working people of the faculty of economics were determined.

Firmly linked with the idea, messages and work of Comrade Tito, unanimous in their conviction that enemy aims can never be realized, the communist teachers and working people of the faculty of law of Pristina University, at an expanded session of the Teaching and Scientific Council, today expressed their full support for the position, measures and tasks proceeding from the statements of the highest party and state leaders of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the SFRY.

In the discussion, in which Azem Vlasi, member of the Presidium of the provincial conference of the SAWP of Kosovo, took part, it was unanimously pointed out that at this moment increased vigilance and the activities of all socialist forces in combatting hostile activities are necessary, accompanied by an even deeper strengthening of brotherhood and unity of all our peoples and nationalities.

#### Popular Condemnation

AU080815 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Apr 81 p 6

[M. Daci report]

[Text] Pristina--The most unpleasant events of the past 36 years of freedom in Kosovo were the demonstrations organized by enemies in Pristina and some other localities of the province last week. Skillfully devised, these demonstrations were nothing else but an attempt at counterrevolution, an open attack on the constitutional system of self-managing Socialist Yugoslavia and on destroying the unity and freedom of its peoples and nationalities, its independence and its nonaligned policy.

However, these dirty attempts of the enemy have completely failed because this time also, as always before, they were without the support of the people, primarily the Albanian population, who not only saw through the well thought-out goals of the Albanian nationalists and irrendentists, but also resolutely resisted the attempts aimed at destroying our unity. Large numbers of Kosovo's inhabitants, members of all peoples and nationalities, most sharply condemn the hostile demonstrations and extend their full support for the measures that are being taken by the sociopolitical organizations and organs of authority in Kosovo. As always, the people know how to differentiate between certain demagogic slogans of the enemy, and know which are social demands, which are real goals and which are an attack on our integrity.

A very intensive activity of all sociopolitical organizations on unmasking the hostile slogans and activities, and on supporting regular self-managing tasks and obligations, has developed throughout the province in recent days. With great participation of citizens, youth and veterans, discussions and activities have been organized in the SAWP, the Yugoslav Veterans Federation and the youth organization.

The developments in Kosovo have even more united all peoples and nationalities in the province to persist along Tito's road of developing a self-managing socialist community for which, in the last war, much blood of all peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia was shed. The working people and citizens throughout the province are also expressing their determination through hundreds of telegrams to the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and to the provincial committee Presidium of the League of Communists.

"We energetically condemn the demonstrations which are directed against our self-managing socialist system and against the interests of all peoples and nationalities.  
[paragraph continues]

Stronger than ever before, we will persist on the road of the LCY and Comrade Tito, miners of the Trepca collective say in their telegram. The telegrams of work organizations of Djakovica, Suva Reka, Pec, Prizren, Gnjilane, Kosovska Kamenica, Pristina and all other localities in Kosovo and outside it are of similar content.

Many telegrams stress that without strengthening brotherhood and unity, and developing togetherness, there can be no progress, and Kosovo--for the first time in its recent history--has progressed more than in centuries before. Thanks to the efforts of the working people and citizens, particularly to the cordial assistance of the workers class of the entire community, this province has prospects for an even more rapid development in the next period. In the current medium-term plan alone, Kosovo will be developing at a rate 60 percent more rapid than the country's average development.

The Kosovo working people and citizens are also aware of these facts, and it is precisely for this reason that their anger with the hostile demonstrations, with the attempts at destroying brotherhood and unity, is understandable.

Yesterday's speech by Fadilj Hodza, member of the SFRY Presidency and LCY Central Committee Presidium, who openly said that what the enemies wanted to achieve with these demonstrations--they tried to introduce discord among the Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks and Muslims of Kosovo and to undermine their unity with all peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia--has also met with great reaction among the inhabitants of Kosovo.

#### Slovenia's Popit

AU071606 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 3 Apr 81 p 24

[Vlado Slamberger report]

[Text] Slovenj Gradec, 1 Apr--"It is right that at today's session of your conference you discussed the topics that are important for the mood of our working people and citizens, that is, topics such as the income relations which are strengthening the socialist self-managing system, and the scholarship policy which ensures that we will have the people with whom we will be able to carry out our development programs and tasks in our export orientation that is of basic importance for the economic development not only of Slovenia but also of all Yugoslavia," Franc Popit, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia, said during the discussion at the program and election session of the conference of the Slovenj Gradec communal organization of the League of Communists of Slovenia.

Franc Popit emphasized that in making demands for the imports of raw materials and equipment our associated labor should always be aware that it can count only on the foreign exchange which it realizes with its exports. We must not act as many still do, that is, that they swear by stabilization but are immediately ready to forget it as soon as some of the stabilization measures affect them. Our economy's orientation to exports is therefore all the more important: that orientation is a long-term stabilization task because it alone ensures work and social security for us.

"We will certainly encounter many more difficulties during the stabilization period that will not end this year, as some think. It is necessary to prepare the people for these difficulties--that is the task of the League of Communists, the Socialist Alliance and the trade unions--and it is especially necessary to call their attention to the interrelationship of problems," the president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia stressed. He further spoke about the statist and bureaucratic aspirations that hinder consolidation of socialist self-managing relations and against which the communists must struggle at all levels, ranging from work organizations through communes and republics to the federation.



"It is clear that under the conditions of tense economic and political relations in the world, we too cannot be spared certain problems, because we are not an isolated island in a restless world. The systematic psychological war waged by the enemies of the socialist self-managing system with the intention to weaken us is also felt in our country. Our socialist self-managing system is being attacked abroad. Those attacking it want to discredit it and claim that it is not able to solve the economic problems and the problems of relations among peoples; in other words, they want to say that socialism cannot be built without the use of force," the president of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Slovenia said, and then continued:

"Some outside attempts were made in Kosovo to exploit the irredentist aspirations among a section of the Albanian nationality there. They want to weaken our internal firmness, the foundations of the socialist self-managing system and Yugoslavia's independence. That was the purpose of actions of the hostile forces that exploited Kosovo's lagging economic development, although that province has achieved a relatively rapid development as compared with the time needed by other republics and the Province of Vojvodina for their development. Of course, it is impossible to turn a backward region into an industrially developed region overnight. It is in this context that the method of pressure aimed at discrediting the socialist self-managing system and our relations among peoples must be considered. For that reason we communists must be all the more vigilant against all aspirations to exploit our economic difficulties for the purpose of sowing distrust in self-management. It is the duty of us communists, together with the working people in the Socialist Alliance and the trade unions, to vigilantly watch the situation and immediately react to any such attempts. We must continue to solve our problems on the basis of socialist self-management and with the reputation of the League of Communists. In this connection we communists must also be more militant and resolute whenever any slandering of officials--that is also part of psychological warfare--or any unfounded rumors about their high incomes and pensions are involved. All these incomes are set within the limits of our system and are publicly known and for that reason especially the communists should not be taken in by any rumors involving slanders, that is, attempts by hostile forces to discredit the leading people, sow distrust toward them and then more easily maneuver our working people.

"Briefly, we must pay greater attention to our internal vigilance," France Popit said. "For that reason the basic organizations of the League of Communists throughout Slovenia must immediately appraise the security and political situation in their respective areas, continue to daily improve that situation and control the quality of the social self-protection system. The main task of that system is to defend the socialist self-managing system, our country's independence and the SFRY's indivisibility. But in this connection we must recognize the fact that the situation will continue to be very difficult, first, because of crises in the world and, second, because we are the target of the forces that would like to prove that the socialist self-managing system is not capable of living. This is true regarding its enemies both in the East and the West. The former would like to prove that their own socialism is the only correct one and the latter would like to prove that the only correct system is a multiparty political system.

"We Slovene communists must count on those problems and we must be aware of our common responsibility to our workers class, our people and the workers class of the entire world because, if the socialist self-managing system were undermined, the prospects of the workers class of the world, both in the Eastern and the Western systems, would also be undermined," France Popit concluded his statement during discussion at the session.

#### Vojvodina SAWP Presidium

AU072113 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] The Presidium of the provincial conference of the SAWP of Vojvodina has discussed current political problems connected with the hostile activities of nationalist and irredentist elements in Kosovo.

The Presidium expressed its full support for the political actions and other measures which political and state organs of Kosovo, Serbia and Yugoslavia are taking. It was pointed out that working people, citizens, youths, veterans and all peoples and nationalities in Vojvodina denounce most energetically the activities of the counter-revolutionary forces which tried to endanger the stability and the constitutional system of Yugoslavia and they unreservedly support resolute action to ensure conditions for further development of self-management and faster material and social transformation of Kosovo Province.

Macedonian Assemblymen

LD080904 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1611 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] Skopje, 7 Apr (TANJUG)--Macedonian Assembly deputies who are members of working bodies and committees today most sharply condemned the counterrevolutionary activity of nationalist and irredentist elements aimed at undermining peace and the creative work of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and, ultimately, at destroying the territorial integrity of the SFRY and above all the brotherhood and unity of the Yugoslav nations and nationalities and the self-managing sociopolitical system. They emphasized the need for even greater constant vigilance and complete readiness of all the citizens of our socialist self-management.

The deputies expressed full support for the conclusions, measures and activities of the SFRY Presidency and the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and the decisions of the relevant organs of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and the conclusions of the Federal Executive Council and the republican Executive Council. They also expressed support for the efforts being made by workers, working people and citizens of Kosovo and their sociopolitical organizations aimed at normalizing conditions in Kosovo.

The deputies also heard a report on the security situation in Macedonia, which was submitted by Mirko Bunevski, member of the Macedonian Executive Council and republican secretary for internal affairs.

Macedonian Party Official

LD081040 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1735 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] Tetovo, 7 Apr (TANJUG)--Sharing its destiny with the other nations and nationalities of our country and, above all, with the Macedonian people and the members of the Turkish nationality, the Albanian nationality in Macedonia has achieved rapid economic, cultural, social and national development over the past decades. This was stressed in Tetovo today by Servet Salii, member of Macedonian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, during a conversation with the members of the municipal conference of the Macedonian League of Communists and sociopolitical bodies of the Tetovo commune. He said that thanks to the correct and consistent implementation of the LCY's policy on complete national equality, togetherness, brotherhood and unity, tens of thousands of students in 100 elementary, secondary, high and higher education schools in Macedonia have been taught Albanian, over 10,000 members of the Albanian nationality in the republic have been employed in all work organizations and in the highest-level scientific and cultural institutions, and information and publishing activities in the Albanian language have been following a constant upward line.

Condemning the hostile excesses in Kosovo, Salii stressed that the demonstrations in the province had been held from nationalist and counterrevolutionary positions and in order to undermine the integrity of the SFRY, the togetherness of our nations and nationalities and brotherhood and unity.

Communists of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia and other organized socialist forces will help the communists and the working class of Kosovo and the whole of our community best if they are successful in pursuing action in their own environment and if they foil all of the enemy's attempts speedily and effectively, Servet Salju said.

According to Salju, it is necessary to create an atmosphere favoring a critical, objective and creative understanding of the problems of one's own environment, to ensure that people are kept truthfully and rapidly informed and not to allow passions and sentiments which could destroy the historic gains of the revolution to triumph over reason and over everything that is in the interest of equality.

BORBA ON KOSOVO: NOTHING HIDDEN FROM PEOPLE

AU081016 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Apr 81 p 1

[Marko Lolic commentary: "The People's Answer"]

[Text] It is our historical experience that when under trial, the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia are even more united and even stronger. This surely contains the tested realization that our peoples and nationalities, made brothers, equal, free in their essence, but linked by their togetherness, and precisely in their community and togetherness constitute an actual force and possess certain frameworks for their own and their common happiness and future.

Another historical experience is instructive and always topical: Whatever danger it experienced and whatever pressure and assaults it was exposed to, this society never hid anything from itself, which is to say from the people, and it never decided anything without the participation of its widest strata. Our revolutionary movement has had this attractive and creative force precisely because it emanated from the deepest interests of the people, and because it was assuming and bearing before the people and jointly with the people, all the weight of the responsibility assigned by destiny. Anyhow, Tito's teaching was always: Our strength lies in the actual constructive power of millions, and in their strivings and needs.

It was in the liberation struggle and socialist revolution, in which all our peoples gave their best, led by the party and Tito, that the decisive determinant of our life, work and growth--our brotherhood and unity--was polished to perfection. It became irrevocably clear that without it we are nothing. With the development of society, this slogan widened its support and actual basis, to obtain its essential and inexhaustible source in the relations of socialist self-management. Out of these seeds, our views on the relations in the world germinated logically and naturally, incorporated in the principles of consistent nonalignment and our proud position without concessions: that we live and build our life autonomous, independent and as our own masters.

Thus, Yugoslavia has secure supports and trusted signposts for its future. We built them with Tito and are resolved to continue them, unswervingly.

Of course we know that we are living in a restless world shaken by many crises. No early solutions can be seen for some of them. However, this imposes an even greater obligation on the forces of progress and peace to strive conscientiously for a new face of the world community, for a free and undisturbed development of all peoples and states and against pressures, lack of freedom and any form of subordination.

This Yugoslavia, as it is, is striving for this. It therefore enjoys great prestige in the world. But precisely because it is as it is, Yugoslavia disturbs some people. That has been clear to us for some time. [paragraph continues]

Therefore we have no illusions that external and internal enemies will not attempt to link up, at every opportunity, so that they may, without scruples, undermine the stability of our country, and that they may disturb and upset us.

In recent days such hostile and counterrevolutionary elements have made themselves heard on the soil of our socialist and Autonomous Province of Kosovo. The events in that part of our country have caused understandable upset and have threatened to cause dangerous consequences, particularly since the enemy acted ruthlessly, in an organized and premeditated way, without scruples and not shrinking even from such inhuman steps such as dragging innocent children into their dishonorable activities. This is unequivocal: It is a matter of an attempted attack on the unity and integrity of Yugoslavia, and on its constitutional socialist and self-managing system. This is a fact. But the people again replied in the best, popular and clear way: They resolutely said no! The Albanian people did it first, for the worst damage is inflicted on them, and our other peoples and nationalities did it in the same way, united. This people's will and position was magnificently demonstrated by the passage of the youth relay race in Kosovo, which was accompanied by love, the unity of all and their determination to build a better life joined like brothers, to call the irredentist-nationalist demonstrations and disorders by their true name and to state their background and aim.

Surely we acted in a united and efficient way against this assault again this time. It must always be so. After all, our responsibility is ours alone. Our activities are democratic and creative, and therefore any assaults on our democratic achievements and relations, and on the brotherhood, unity and integrity of Yugoslavia are repulsed by us precisely in the name of democracy and true national interests.

This time again it should be remembered that nationalism and socialism do not fit together. Precisely for that reason we should constantly maintain an active and open front against nationalism, everyone and everywhere, for every nationalism is dangerous and against the people. One cannot fight nationalism with nationalism. On the contrary, this will only nourish and aid it. In these battles, the responsibility of the communists is paramount. But again, it is communists among the people and together with the people, in a general front of socialist forces, in the broadest unity of people and peoples, and in their activities, in which one goes about one's business and achieves results, and with which the possibilities of nationalist and any other hostile activities and plots are most certainly crushed.

Therefore it is clear that these events again cannot sway us or divert us from our essential preoccupations and obligations. We are determined to work creatively and in a self-managing way, and to enhance the unity of our society on Tito's course. But we are also determined to oppose unswervingly and in full unity any attempted attacks on the right and will of our people and peoples to manage their life and happiness free and equal.

The answer of all our peoples and nationalities is therefore this time again based on principle without compromise: Nothing can disturb our mutual trust, brotherhood and unity; nothing can divert us from the road of socialist self-management; nothing can obscure our basic aim, the full emancipation of man, before which counterrevolutionary attacks not only look like errors of backwardness but are also proof of how their champions ruthlessly and drastically assault the basic values, results and visions of our society.

#### SOVIET ENVOY HANDS MESSAGE TO DJURANOVIC

LD071816 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1606 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Apr (TANJUG)--Veselin Djuranovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, today received the USSR ambassador to the SFRY, Nikolay Rodionov, who handed him a message from the Soviet leadership for the Yugoslav leadership.



On this occasion, reference was also made to issues of interest for the further promotion of cooperation between the two countries in the bilateral and broader international sphere.

BORBA INTERVIEWS SPANISH CP LEADER ON PARTY TIES

LDO71444 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1115 GMT 7 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Apr (TANJUG)--Spanish Communist Party Secretary-General Santiago Carrillo has stated to the Belgrade daily BORBA that relations between the Spanish Communist Party and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia are excellent.

"Fundamental agreement exists between us on basic problems of the present-day world, on demands raised by the struggle for the maintenance of peace and relaxation of tension", Carrillo said.

The Spanish communist leader pressed for the further democratization in Spain. The coup attempt, according to Carrillo, has strengthened the Communist Party of Spain and brought democratic forces closer together.

Carrillo emphasized that the unity of the left, pursuing of the policy which will gain workers' trust, increase employment, develop autonomy, prevent nationalistic provocations and eliminate terrorism is the basic and sole way to realizing democratic trends. [sentence as received]

People's will for that exists, Carrillo said, and pointed to the need of this becoming practice of all democratically-minded forces in Spain.

ITALIAN CP DELEGATION HAS TALKS IN BELGRADE

LDO71115 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 4 Apr 81 p 19

[Unattributed report: "Foreign Policy Studies Center Delegation Visits Belgrade"]

[Text] Rome--A Foreign Policy Studies Center delegation composed of [Center Secretary] Romano Ledda, Mario Zucconi and Marta Dassu has visited Belgrade at the invitation of the Federal Institute for International Politics and Economics.

The delegation met with [Institute Director] Comrade Bozidar Franges and with chiefs of the institute's research centers for an exchange of ideas on the international situation.

During its stay the Italian delegation had a meeting with Comrade Aleksandar Grlickov of the LCY Presidium and director of the LCY International Relations Department and with Comrade (Nandor Major), LCY research secretary.

MIJATOVIC RECEIVES NEW SRV ENVOY'S CREDENTIALS

LDO71704 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1257 GMT 6 Apr 81

[Text] Belgrade 6 Apr (TANJUG)--Cvijetin Mijatovic, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received the newly appointed SRV ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary, Hoang Man Tu, who presented his credentials. Mijatovic had a friendly conversation with him.

The reception was also attended by Ivan Dolnicar, general secretary of the SFRY Presidency, Milorad Pesic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, and others.